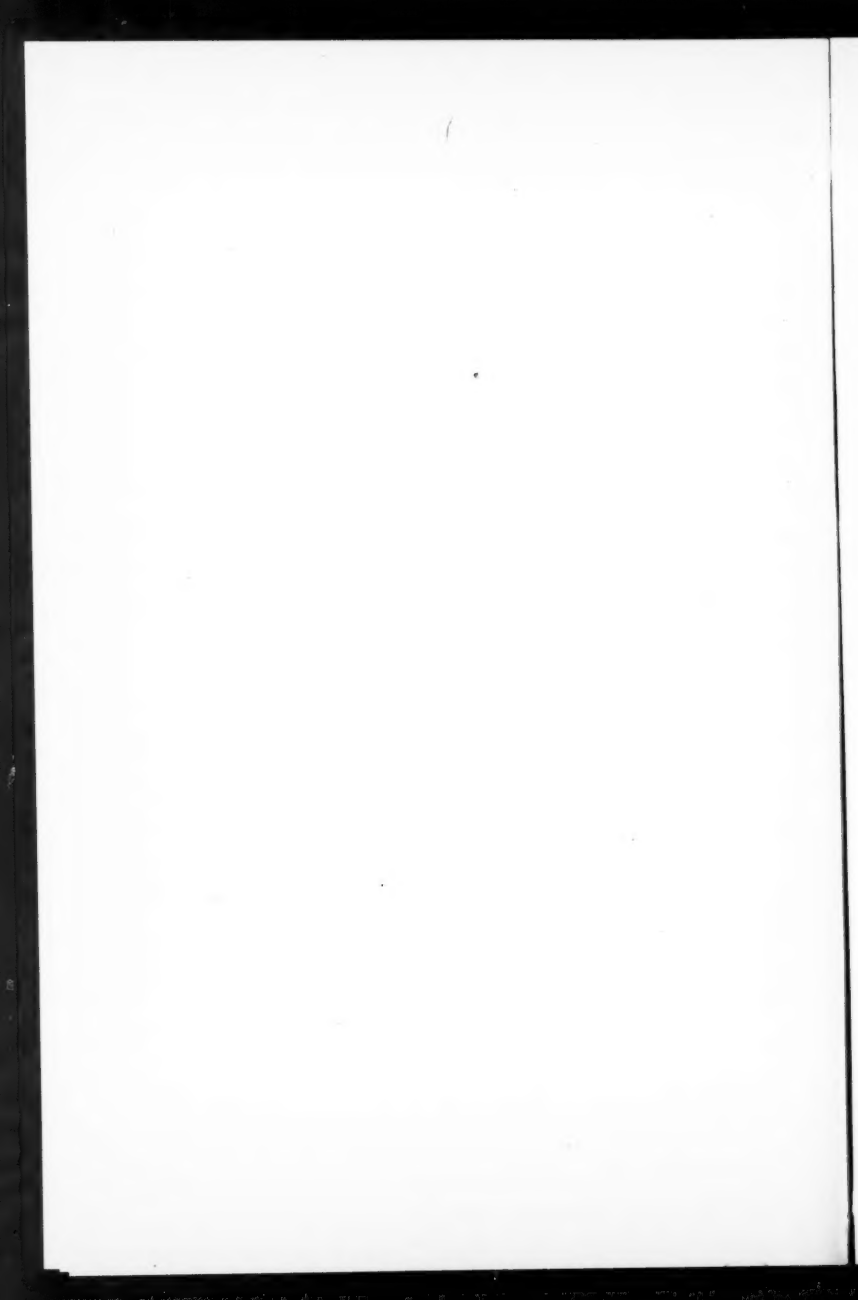


The French Bishops and the Education Problem

Catholic Mind. 1910



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Recent developments have shown that when the Concordat was broken and the law of separation of Church and State was enacted by the French Parliament, the far-reaching consequences were not foreseen by those who advocated disestablishment.

Events have since thrown light on this many-sided question. The treaty between the French Government and the Holy See, which gave a legal status to the Church in France and defined the relations between Church and State, had, taking it all in all, insured a century of religious peace. And now each party to the contract has taken back its rights, and the Church is striving to fulfil her mission.

Of course, as every one knows, the law of separation was rejected by the Papacy. Rome preferred that the Church in France should henceforth stand on her own merits and sacrifice material interests rather than forfeit her independence. This caused astonishment in the ranks of the Radical party, but when the great difficulties which stood in the way of enforcing the law appeared, M. Clemenceau and M. Briand found it wiser to bring before the Chambre des Députés a new Bill. The situation had become very serious. Were all the churches suddenly to be closed, simply because no "cultuelles" had been formed? By this second enactment, although the rest of the church property was to be confiscated, free use of the church buildings was to be allowed to the faithful.

The truth is that the Government feared trouble, and was forced to make this concession to the Catholics. Their places of worship, according to the new Bill, were to remain open, and this was already, as we see, a first departure from the law of separation.

To-day new difficulties arise. In addition to the question of property rights, which is not yet solved, another problem stands before the public. It is a question purely moral, and, indeed, apart from those with which the legislative power is accustomed to deal.

On the 14th of last September, a collective letter of all the Bishops of France interdicted the use by Catholic children of certain specified books placed in their hands in the public schools(1). The schoolmaster has a large list of books from which to choose; he is not obliged to use Gautier and Deschamp's *History of France*, nor Rogie and Despiques' *Petites lectures sur l'histoire de la civiliza-*

(1) Already last year the French Episcopate had begun publicly to warn the faithful in general terms against the anti-religious tendencies of certain books in use in the State schools. Associations of parents were formed at the instigation of the clergy with the purpose of protesting against these books or any other violation of neutrality on the part of teachers. To combat this movement a Bill was introduced in June, 1908, by the Minister of Public Instruction. This Bill, which we cannot here discuss at length, was designed to "protect" the schoolmaster and provides penalties for parents or other persons who, either directly or by written or spoken incitements, should seek to interfere with the instruction given in the schools or to prevent the use by the pupils of any authorized school book. If this Bill should ever pass both Houses and become law, any protest on the part of parents would be vain. It was reported in January, 1909, but it has gone no further. As it has not come up for discussion in the Chamber, its consequences need not be taken into consideration for the present.

tion française, nor, again, is he forced to base his ethical teaching on the *Cours de morale* of M. Jules Payot, or his patriotic ideal on the *Elements de l'instruction civique* of M. Aulard, nor to make use of any other of the works condemned (2). In this letter the Bishops not only warn the parents against the advanced doctrines, distorted history and irreligious tendencies, contained in these books, but also forbid their being left in the children's hands.

Great was the amazement among freethinking Frenchmen when this announcement was made. The Radical party had so far considered that the Church, deprived of her property rights, obliged to appeal to public generosity for support, obliged also to create her new organization under circumstances so far from favorable, would remain quiet and not attempt by any public act to incur new disfavor with the State, or do anything which might create difficulty between herself and the Government.

Speeches and comments in the Press, more or less violent in character, responded to this manifesto of the Bishops. Public opinion was divided, as it generally is; in fact, some Catholics of moderate opinion thought the Bishops' letter inopportune, while the violent Radicals called it a declaration of war.

In a very admirable letter, written November 3, of this year, the Archbishop of Paris, Monseigneur Amette, de-

(2) List of principal books condemned: Calvet, *Histoire de France*; Gauthier & Deschamp, *Histoire de France*; Guiot & Mane, *Histoire de France*; Aulard & Debidour, *Histoire de France*; Rogie & Despiques, *Petites lectures sur l'histoire de la civilisation Française*; Devinat, *Histoire de France*; Brossolette, *Histoire de France*; Rogie & Despiques, *Histoire de France*; Aulard, *Elements d'instruction civique*; Albert Bayet, *Leçons de morale*; Jules Payot, *Cours de morale*; Jules Payot, *La morale à l'école*.

fines in excellent terms the true character of the collective action of the Bishops. He says:

We do not declare war on the public schools, we merely recognize the fact that in too many schools open or covert war is waged upon religion, and we wish to protect the souls of the children of France from the attacks made upon their faith. We do not preach insurrection against the law. We declare, of course, that no human law is binding, if it is not in conformity to Divine Law—Supreme Rule of all Justice—and that there may exist unjust laws which conscience forbids us to obey. . . . We make no act of hostility against the Republic. To pretend that one cannot denounce impiety in the schools without attacking the Republic would amount to a declaration that the régime identifies itself with anarchy and irreligion. We refuse to admit this, and we ask the Republic to apply in her schools one of the principles which she herself proclaims; that is, respect and liberty of conscience.

Indeed, this statement seems only rational in the mouth of any clergyman, or, in fact, of any believer.

When we go back to the great Parliamentary debates which brought about the education laws of 1882, we find that partisans of the lay public schools upheld the principles of strict neutrality on religious questions. The theory was as follows:—Children of various denominations may attend the schools, consequently no dogmatic teaching, in contradiction to any admitted form of belief, must be given in the schools. The teaching must be neutral, it must not interfere with the right of parents to bring up their children in their own religious beliefs.

Jules Ferry, in a series of important speeches on this question, together with other orators of the Republican

party, took up a stand for neutrality in the schools. Neutrality, according to them, was the only principle for lay instruction in a great Republic. They claimed that it protected the rights of the religious parents as well as of the freethinking; that it permitted Science to be unfolded without restraint, and that it also was a safeguard against any assertion in matters of conscience and belief, to which exception might be taken. The teacher was to be, in the school, the delegate of the parents. The well-known instructions of Jules Ferry to the public schoolmaster were as follows:

At the moment of proposing to the pupil any maxim or precept whatsoever, ask yourself if any father, even only one, were he present in your class, and listening to what you say, might in good faith refuse his assent to what you are about to assert. If so, you must leave it unsaid.

These men were opposed to the State monopoly of instruction. They were advocates of "*liberté d'enseignement*." In their opinion, State schools upon a neutral basis, with good teachers, were able to compete with all others. But the men of that time, although anti-clerical, were not, for the most part, materialists. Their philosophy had a spiritual character. For a time neutrality remained the principle in vogue, but little by little a more Radical view of the subject began to prevail. The young school teachers in the "*Écoles normales*" were the first subjects for early anti-religious propaganda. As these young men were destined to teach in neutral primary schools, it was thought by many directors of teachers' colleges in the departments, that they should abstain from going to church altogether. Nominal liberty was given them to do as they pleased, but too often the good posts

were reserved for those who openly professed irreligion. This tendency grew stronger and stronger, until now, in many cases, an openly anti-religious teaching is given by certain schoolmasters.

Of course, according to law, this could be prevented. But is it prevented?

In a recent speech, M. Briand, the Prime Minister, referring to the collective letter of the Bishops, expressed surprise that their condemnation of the books in use in the public schools had not been proclaimed earlier. The answer is simple. So long as the Concordat existed, by private advice, by preaching in the churches, the clergy sought to warn the faithful against irreligious teaching in the schools. From the pulpit and through the Press Catholic parents were exhorted to send their children to parochial schools. But the tie which bound the clergy to the State stood in the way of public and collective protestation against the books and educational programme of State schools. Now that this tie no longer exists, shall the right of criticism be denied the Church?

Twenty-seven years have passed since the declaration of Jules Ferry reassured, to a certain extent, as we have seen, Catholic parents, when their religion was banished from the public schools.

To-day [says Monseigneur Laurent, Bishop of Cahors] the successor of Ferry speaks a very different language. He permits the master to teach the child, not only one maxim or precept, but a whole series of doctrines directly opposed to the religion of the parents. M. Doumergue, the Minister of Public Instruction, reassures any teacher who may hesitate to do this, and tells him that he need not pay the slightest attention to the protests addressed to him by members of the clergy, or by associations of

fathers who demand that those books, which have been disapproved of in the Bishops' manifesto, be withheld from his pupils. The teachers are told to receive no instructions in such matters except from their superiors, or from the Minister himself, and that they must firmly resist any *interference whatever which emanates from an authority outside the school.*

An association of parents is, therefore, "an authority outside the school," simply because they appear to be acting on the advice of the Bishops. Yet who can deny that it is the duty of the pastors of the Church to call the attention of the faithful to the dangerous character of the books which may be placed in their children's hands?

A great many people wonder, indeed, why the Protestant Societies have not spoken in condemnation of the books on which the Catholic Bishops have placed their interdict. The question should be as vital to the Protestant world as it is to the Catholic. In reality, why are these books dangerous in the eyes of the Catholic clergy? Because they tend to weaken the belief of the child in spiritual teachings. Some reject dogma, others try to instil into the mind of the reader purely positivist doctrines, others distort facts of history, others, again, prepare the mind of the child to disbelieve in the Deity, to impeach revelation, to discard all spiritual belief. This would seem to be of interest to the Protestant mind as well as to the Catholic, and many wonder whether, in their acceptance of the law of separation, the different Protestant denominations have not lost something of their liberty, since they did not join in public protest against what may harm the spiritual bringing-up of children. What Christian, of any denomination, can tolerate, for

instance, that lessons should be given to his children from Jules Payot's *Cours de Morale*? This work is intended as a guide to the teacher and a supplement to *La Morale à l'École* to be expounded verbally to the pupils.

I do not admit [says its author] the right to impose upon my defenceless child metaphysical hypotheses which can endanger his ulterior liberty; and again:

to make this life subordinate to a supernatural existence after death is to treat this life simply as a means to an end. . . . As for belief in the supernatural, it interferes with the education of the sense of causality—so slow to awake!—and this sense of causality is the mark of a healthy, vigorous mind.

The preface abounds in such reflections, and the rest of the work is penetrated with the same spirit, continually expressed in statements like the following:

As during the Roman Empire and the Middle Ages, the Christians always lived under arbitrary government, and as they themselves, when they could oppress dissenters, did so with cruelty, one cannot be surprised that the majority of the faithful of this religion should have accepted belief in an arbitrary government of the universe. That such a conception was destructive of Divine Majesty and of Reason was what the ignorant Christian masses could not discern. And therefore we see, alongside of a minority of scientific minds, unenlightened intelligences admitting the supernatural, miracles, and the efficacy of prayer to move God or to bribe Him (1) p. 201.

And this:

Belief in direct revelation presents grave dangers (p.

(1) In the text: "pour fléchir Dieu ou le corrompre."

202). The Gospels themselves contain moral conceptions which shock the modern conscience (p. 203).

The *Cours de Morale* is probably one of the most insidious of the books described. Other works on the same subject make open attacks against the Church, which they present as entirely given over to oppression and bloody persecution when in power. Yet many children of Catholic parents frequent these schools. Parochial schools are not numerous since the suppression of teaching orders, and even where they exist some Catholic parents, especially in large cities, send their children to the State schools. Other quotations from the books condemned might be made with profit, but it would take too long to go into further details on this matter.

Many see in the fact that the Protestants have not also condemned the books, an indication that the battle lies wholly between the Catholic Church on the one side and Free-thought on the other. The Church claims her right to teach a spiritual doctrine and condemns materialism as it creeps into the schools with books written with a purpose. She becomes the only standard-bearer of Christian doctrine and revelation!

Whatever stand the French Protestants may take in the matter later on, it is to be hoped that it will be the same as that taken by the Catholic Bishops, because, if the principle of neutrality is allowed to disappear from the French schools, the outcome will be an official hotbed of atheism and materialism. Can such a result be regarded with indifference when the future of a great nation is at stake? Surely not. Yet, is there no cause for fear when one considers the current of thought which now prevails in the Radical party at present in power?

When the collective action of the Bishops was dis-

cussed by the advanced Parliamentary groups and in Socialist or Radical Congresses held in different cities, there was a great outcry, many insisting that the Government should lay before the *Chambre des Députés* a Bill creating State monopoly of instruction.

The argument is curious! "Some of the books which we give the children in the schools have been thought prejudicial to religious belief; they have been condemned by the Bishops. This is a declaration of war; we must answer it not only by protecting the State school, but also by putting an end to free schools where religion is taught in order to save the State from the attacks of the clergy." This response opens up a new question—the monopoly of the State and suppression of religious free schools—which furnishes the Bishops with an excellent argument for their defence.

Let us briefly review the general march of events in the last twenty-five years of French public instruction. First, the principle of neutrality is proclaimed, but, little by little, distinct anti-religious tendencies crop up among the school teachers. Then arise difficulties, not only between the public school teacher and the parent of the child, but also between the school teacher and his superior, who, in many cases, has no longer any regard for neutrality, and who sometimes proclaims himself an advocate of the destruction of religion. "The lay school," a well-known *Inspecteur d'Académie* is reported to have said, "has one end in view, the formation of free-thinkers. . . . The lay school teaches the rejection of dogma." Many school inspectors have made similar statements, borne out by the books which they have recommended for use in schools—the same which the Bishops have condemned.

The third step may be said to have been the bringing together of primary school teachers into Societies called "Amicales" or syndicates. These Societies, under the guise of affording schoolmasters protection and giving them the advantages of corporate bodies, encourage in their ranks a very independent spirit. This is easy to understand: these men and women have devoted their lives to teaching children, they have ideas of their own, and the continual rule of the State is sometimes difficult to bear. They are liable to be sent at great expense to themselves, from school to school and one end of a department to another, simply because the *Instructeur d'Académie* or the Prefect finds some fault with their political attitude or because the former disapproves of their manner of teaching. They have, in some cases, appealed against this despotism, and it is natural that they should have sought some guarantee in association. Their unions hold congresses at which large numbers of these schoolmasters discuss the questions which interest their corporation. These speeches delivered in these congresses are often divergent from the views of the Government. If these corporations become stronger, as is likely, will the Government's hold on public instruction remain powerful enough to enforce the principles of neutrality? This question is a very serious one. In a few cases schoolmasters have even professed most advanced doctrines, anti-patriotic, and so exaggerated that they seem akin to anarchy. The Courts, called upon to repress such abuses, have in some cases imposed fines and even imprisonment on schoolmasters guilty of flagrantly lawless teaching. But who is to protect the child from a master who insidiously exercises upon his mind, either through charm of manner or superior intelligence, an influence destructive of religious belief?

Some of the Bishops in recent interviews have said:

Far from declaring war on the State, we claim to be its best friends by condemning the bad books in use in the schools, because where Christian morals are rejected you will find that all moral doctrine is weakened, and that these pernicious advanced doctrines gradually culminate in the negation of patriotic duty, in insults to the flag and preparations for anarchy.

Of course this argument is received with some scepticism by many. It seems a sweeping assertion; yet the danger alluded to is real. One wonders how the Government, should it wish to do so, can insure neutrality in the State schools when the corporate bodies of schoolmasters become independent and powerful, and perhaps given wholly over to free-thought?

A short time ago, the leaders of these "Amicales" of public school teachers, having taken offence at the collective letter of the Bishops throwing an interdict on some of the books in use in the schools, decided to bring the matter before the courts. They propose to sue the Bishops, each Bishop separately, and claim from each one 5,000 francs damages for the prejudice caused them by the letter.

It seems rather strange that an interdict of this special nature, on a purely moral ground, could be considered as causing material injury, especially as no schoolmaster is bound to use the books rejected by the Bishops. Moreover, no individual schoolmaster has been signalled out out by name in the Bishops' letter, which applies only in general to those who have not respected neutrality in religious matters. It must be remembered also that the Bishops' letter is binding upon Catholics alone, and that even if Catholic parents did withdraw their children from

the State schools no material prejudice could result therefrom to the teachers, who are paid by the State. It is rumored that the authors of the condemned works are also contemplating legal action against the Bishops.

It seems impossible to foresee what will be the issue of all these suits, if they are finally brought before the local tribunals of every department. Notice has been served on several bishops already(1). The "Amicales" are led by influential politicians. What stand will the Courts take in the matter? And what will be, in the end, the attitude of the Government? At the time at which these lines are written the issue has yet to be seen.

Party spirit has, as usual, seized upon this pretext to drag religious questions again into the political arena. The "clerical peril" is once more trumpeted abroad. We are warned that the Republic is attacked, and that the only safety is in prompt legislative action against parochial schools—a singular remedy for the dissatisfaction already expressed by free citizens of a democracy.

Be the result what it may, it cannot be denied that the cause of the present crisis is to be found in the breaking of the Concordat, an act which, while it impoverished the Church, gave to the clergy a strength greater than riches—the rights and liberties of ordinary citizens. For who can now consistently take away from the pastors of the church the freedom of speech which they have gained at such a sacrifice?

Whatever the immediate consequences of the Bishops' action—and it is quite possible that for a time the coun-

(1) It is reported that the "Amicale" of the department of the Cantal has, however, refused to associate itself with those which have brought suits against the bishops. Perhaps others may follow this example.

sels of the violent may prevail—we are surely justified in hoping that the victory at last will be with the principles of true liberty and tolerance which are the *raison d'être* of a Republic.

CHAMBRUN.

—*The Dublin Review*, January, 1910.

ETERNAL PUNISHMENT

Recent developments in the church of England, and more particularly the decision of the Convocation of Canterbury in the matter of the Athanasian Creed have turned men's thoughts once more to the question of Eternal Punishment. The recitation of what are known as the "minatory clauses" of that creed had long jarred upon the supra-sensitive nerves of many Churchmen, and so it was sought to have an official sanction for their omission. This has been obtained, so that it is no longer incumbent upon an Anglican to believe in the eternity of hell, and the action of men who, like the Dean of Westminster, allow the recitation of the Athanasian Creed without these clauses has been legalized. This doctrine, like many another once cherished by the Protestant, has had to be abandoned to enable his Church to weather the storms which constantly threaten to engulf it. The vote of the majority of the Convocation is but the latest stage in a revolt against the teaching of everlasting punishment which dates back to the early days of the Church's history. As far back as the third century it was opposed by Origen, of whom St. Augustine wrote:—"Now we must have a less harsh disputation with some mistaken persons of our religion, who suppose that though God has justly damned the wicked to the fires of hell, yet he will after a certain time, which his goodness may think fit for the merit of each man's guilt, deliver him from his torments. Amongst those was Origen, who extended the notion much further; for he held that the devils themselves, after the expiration of a certain time, should be liberated from their torments,

and restored to the same glorious rank of angels which they held before their fall. But this, together with some other opinions of his . . . occasioned the Church to pronounce his condemnation" (*De Civ. Dei*, XXI., ch. 17). Owing chiefly to the strenuous opposition of the illustrious Bishop of Hippo this opinion, which had gained considerable amount of popularity during the two centuries succeeding Origen's death, seems to have practically died out within the Church; nor did it really revive until the Reformation. It was then taught by the Anabaptists, who, however, were condemned in the Diet of Augsburg (1530). In England the Reformers at first remained faithful to the old belief, and the 42nd of the Articles drawn up by Cranmer in 1552 declared that, "they are worthy of condemnation" who teach that "all men shall at length be saved." However, ten years afterwards that article was dropped. For a long time this change made no difference, for though during the eighteenth century many prominent divines rejected the idea of eternal punishment, it was not till the middle of last century that this milder view may be considered to have gained any considerable number of supporters. Even so late as 1861 Prof. Maurice, of King's College, London, was denounced to the College authorities for having taught it. Three years later, in the case of *Fendall v. Wilson*, the matter was brought before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. The Judges, among whom were the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, decided that: "We are not required or at liberty to express any opinion upon the eternity of final punishment, further than to say that we do not find in the formularies to which this article refers, any such distinct declaration of our Church upon the subject as to require us to con-

demn as penal the expression of a hope by a clergyman, that even the ultimate pardon of the wicked who are condemned in the day of judgment may be consistent with the will of Almighty God."

This decision of the highest ecclesiastical court in the land naturally gave a great impetus to Universalism, and the next few years saw the number of its adherents greatly increased. Among these the most prominent was Archdeacon Farrar, who, both in the pulpit and the press, pleaded its cause with great earnestness and eloquence. His "Eternal Hope" and "Mercy and Judgment" awakened the keenest interest in the subject. He was followed, amongst others, by Dr. Plumptre, Rev. Stopford Brooke, Rev. A. Jukes, and by Canon Carmichael, of Dublin, who a few years ago published a series of sermons entitled, "All men shall at length be saved," in which the doctrine was vigorously defended.

Among Protestants some modification of the common view concerning Hell was natural. With them all sin being mortal(1), deserved Hell, and consequently, according to the commonly received opinion, eternal punishment. A reaction against such a doctrine was inevitable. There were two ways of getting over the difficulty; one was to accept the Catholic doctrines of Venial Sin and Purgatory, a method which Dr. Pusey in part adopted; the other was to reject the traditional view of Hell. This latter course, not being open to the charge of "Romanism" met with more favor. It was easier, however, to

(1) This is the logical result of denying venial sin and purgatory, and is explicitly taught in Calvinistic theology, *e. g.*, Turretin, Vol. I, p. 539: "Omnia peccata per se et natura sua sunt mortalia."

give up an old belief than to settle another to replace it. Hence it is that we find various shades of opinion among Universalists. Some, like Farrar, are not prepared to give up altogether the idea of an eternal Hell, but limit it to "the small and desperate minority," admitting for the rest the possibility of repentance in the next life. Others, as Canon Carmichael, would have it that to hold that even one soul will be lost for ever is "a libel and an outrage on God and man."

For those who had decided to reject the doctrine of eternal punishment the next step was to justify their decision. This was easily done. Such a punishment was condemned by the opinion of the modern world as against the most elementary principles of mercy and justice. Is not our God a God of love? Does he not call Himself our Father? Could we imagine a merciful and loving Father inflicting such awful punishments on an erring child? No, no, the thing is absurd, it was all a mistake, the product of a barbarous age, a bogey used to frighten people into being good. Christ could never have taught such a doctrine; the passages in the Bible, on which the opinion was based, did not really bear that meaning. There were other places in which His mercy was extolled, and the universality of His redemption spoken of, and with such teaching the doctrine of endless suffering was incompatible. Then there was Origen to fall back upon, and the works of the early Fathers could be searched for texts which might seem to favor what its supporters never tired of calling the milder view, "the doctrine of the larger hope." Such in brief is the process of reasoning by which the Universalist justifies his position:—An eternal hell is opposed to the idea of a just and merciful God, therefore He never could have taught that such a punishment would be inflicted.

The Catholic, however, cannot argue in this manner. If the eternity of hell is clearly contained in the Scriptures, or if the Church has authoritatively taught the doctrine, he must accept it, for what God has revealed cannot be in opposition to any of the Divine attributes; truth cannot contradict truth. It will be well to examine these *a priori* objections and show how futile they are, before considering the positive teaching of Christ and of the Church on the subject.

It is urged, in the first place, that a hell of everlasting torments cannot be reconciled with the idea of God, because He who is so merciful and kind a Father could never inflict such a dreadful punishment on his children who have offended Him. . . . A loving father if forced to shut up a son bent on murdering his brother or sister, might forgive or reinstate him as soon as thoroughly repentant; but if he knows that the imprisoned son is still as much as ever intent on murder, will he set him free and reinstate him?

A father who in such circumstances kept his son in confinement would not only not be unjust, but would rather be bound so to act. If then the sinner after death is as firmly bent on evil as was that son, God cannot be unjust in detaining him in the prison of hell. St. Peter tells us that "our enemy the devil goes about like a roaring lion seeking whom he may devour," and we have no reason for believing that he will ever cease to bear us this hatred; and as long as he still bears it, God is justified in punishing him. Nor is there any reason for saying that though this may be true of the fallen angels it is not so of fallen man. On the contrary, our experience of how hardened a sinner can become in this world, when increasing years only strengthen

the habit, would tend to show that he would become even more so in the next.

It is argued again that it would be essentially unjust to inflict on a momentary act, past and gone, an endless punishment, and that to do so would be contrary to the nature of God. Fr. Gallwey, S.J., meets this argument. "A sin," he writes(1), "is not a momentary act, past and gone. The sin of Lucifer is to-day as present, as living, as active, as mischievous, as murderous, as truly diabolic as it was the first hour; nor is there any reason why it should ever cease to be so. Suicide seems to be a momentary act, but the death it produces is not momentary, for absence of life and corruption go on." How often our courts of law inflict lifelong sentences for an act of a moment, yet there is no outcry raised against their injustice. St. Augustine arguing that sin deserves an eternal punishment says: "It is not the time that is required to perform the act, but the will that measures the sin. Formerly it was considered a greater crime to fell a tree than to kill a man, for it required repeated blows to bring down the tree, while with one blow and in a moment the man was killed. And if on account of so great a crime, though committed in so short a time, a man were to be punished with perpetual banishment the penalty would be too mild, although the long duration of the punishment could not be compared with the instantaneousness of the crime. . . . The sinner would have wished to enjoy his sin for ever; he will find in the penalty an eternal severity"(2). St. Gregory the Great shows, that God is bound to inflict an

(1) *Watches of the Passion*. Vol. I, p. 280.

(2) Letter 102 to Deo Gratias.

eternal punishment on mortal sin, by the following argument. By sinning mortally we contract a guilt which carries with it a penalty, so that as long as the guilt remains the penalty remains too. The guilt can only be got rid of by satisfaction, for which grace and charity are required. But after death, when the term of probation is over, the sinner will receive no more grace, so there can be no satisfaction, and thus the guilt remains for all eternity, and with it the penalty. St. Thomas(1) and many other theologians also make use of this argument.

The third objection brought forward is that to do so would be an act of revenge on the part of God, and as such incompatible with true religion. Cardinal Newman says of those who argue thus: "I do not see how they can maintain their position. In order to do so they will first have to prove that an act of vengeance must be a sin in our own instance; but even this is far from clear . . . and certainly it is not in this instance of the supreme Judge." . . . "It must not be forgotten," he says, "that . . . retributive justice is the very attribute under which God is primarily brought before us in the teachings of our natural conscience"(2). Retributive punishment is necessary as a sanction, and Lugo and other theologians argue that nothing less than a Hell, as it is ordinarily conceived, would suffice as a sanction for the moral laws; and indeed we see that even where eternal punishment is believed in, it too often does not prove strong enough to deter man from indulging his passions and committing the grossest sins. In what state

(1) D. T. 1, 2, q. 87. art. 3.

(2) *Grammar of Assent*, p. 414.

then would the world be if the fear of Hell were removed?

In all these questions about the justice and mercy of God we must remember that we are not speaking of two separate qualities which could be brought into conflict one with another, but that they are one and the same quality, really and truly identified with the divine nature, so that when God punishes us it is not only His justice that inflicts the sentence and carries it out but also His wisdom and His mercy.

Having considered the objections brought forward to prove the intrinsic impossibility of such a punishment being inflicted by God, we shall now give the positive proofs from revelation that He will do so. Both the teaching of the Church and the Scriptures proclaim the doctrine of eternal punishment. The Athanasian Creed, and the Councils of Lateran and of Trent, have made it of faith for us to believe that endless punishment is possible, and that it will be inflicted on all who die at enmity with God. No Catholic can refuse to believe either of these dogmas and remain within the Church.

Turning to the Scriptures we find the same doctrine taught. This point is all-important for the Protestant, who seeing in the Bible his only rule of faith must perforce turn to its pages if he would know what to believe. He must not, however, read into the inspired book his own preconceived opinions. If he find there an express teaching on any subject, he is not at liberty to reject it, on the plea that it does not fall in with his ideas of what God should have taught; he must rather accept it, remembering that God's ways are not our ways, nor His thoughts our thoughts. Yet, one Universalist is so carried away by his zeal for his cause, and his hatred of

what he calls "this immoral and incredible idea," this "endless hell of horror," that he says: "If the doctrine of endless punishment is certainly taught in the Bible, such a fact can hardly fail to create a grave suspicion of the revelation that could assert so monstrous a horror"(1). How any Christian who believes the Scriptures to be the inspired word of God could write in such a strain, is hard to conceive. The mysteries of the Trinity and the Incarnation defy our intelligence far more than does the doctrine of everlasting punishment. If those are believed on the authority of Holy Writ why not this also?

Many passages both of the Old and New Testament are brought forward in proof of the eternity of hell. Of these the greatest weight has always been attached to the words of Our Lord which occur in Matthew xxv: "And He shall say to them also that are on His left hand: Depart from Me ye cursed into everlasting fire, which was prepared for the devil and his angels. . . . And these shall go into everlasting punishment; and the just into life everlasting." It will be necessary to examine the words of Our Lord with special care, for this is the *locus classicus* on the subject of eternal punishment, for all recognize that if it can be proved that Christ did not here teach the doctrine, it would be hard to show that other passages necessarily prove it. If, on the other hand, it can be made clear that on this occasion Christ taught that the punishment of mortal sin should know no end, the question is settled, so that it makes little difference what objections can be brought against

(1) *All Men shall at length be Saved*, p. 29, by Canon Carmichael.

other texts. Hence, even if it were shown in the familiar passage: "The worm dieth not, and the fire is not extinguished" (Is. lxvi., 24; Mark ix., 43), that the "worm" was only a "prime agent of purification" (1) or that the "fire" refers to the fires which were always kept lighting in the valley of Hinnom to burn the carcases that were thrown there, the doctrine of the eternity of hell would not become one whit less credible.

In order to arrive at a clear understanding on the subject of Our Lord's meaning in this important passage it will be necessary to know the previous beliefs of those to whom He addressed himself, to examine carefully in their context the words that He used, and to remember the circumstances under which they were spoken. If the consideration of these questions show us that His hearers already believed in the eternity of the punishments of the next life, if He used words which, being open to no other interpretation, could only have been understood by them as a confirmation of their previous belief, if, furthermore, they were spoken at a most solemn moment on a subject of the highest importance, then it must be clear that He meant to teach that the punishments of hell should last for ever. That these conditions were present can be shown.

With regard to the current belief of the Jews on the subject, at the time of Our Lord, Oxenham (2) has stated that the subject, while interesting, is not at all essential to the main issue. This of course might be true enough,

(1) Carmichael, *Ibid.*, p. 37.

(2) *What is the truth as to Everlasting Punishment*, p. 6.

if Our Lord's intention had been to expound a new doctrine. Here, however, there is no sign that He had any wish to alter their views concerning the nature of the punishments of the next life; his object was rather to warn them of the suddenness of his coming, and to tell them by what actions they should be judged. To the question of the duration of their future misery or of their future happiness he only made a passing reference, which would naturally be understood in the light of the context and of whatever ideas they already entertained on the subject. He must have known what these ideas were, and if He used words which must necessarily have seemed in accordance with them, it can only have been because He wished to confirm them. Hence, if there already existed a belief in an endless punishment, and if His words naturally would bear that meaning, and no other, there can be no doubt but that it is sanctioned by the weight of His authority.

The question then of the belief of the Jews is of the greatest consequence if we wish to understand Our Lord's words in their true sense. Fortunately, in the writings which have come down to us, we have ample material from which to form our opinion. The Canonical, Apocryphal and Pseudepigraphic writings contain many references to the question. As we are only concerned with the time of Our Lord's life it will be sufficient to confine ourselves to those works which bear more directly on that period. If the opinion which places the date of the Book of Daniel, in its present form, as late as 165 B.C. be accepted, it may be considered as a witness to the belief of the second century B.C. We read there: "And many of those that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some unto life everlasting,

others unto reproach—to see it always” (Dan. xii.) (1) The Second Book of Maccabees, written about half a century later, says: “It is better being put to death by men to look for hope from God, to be raised up by him, for as for thee, thou shalt have no resurrection unto life” (II. Mach. vii., 14).

In the Apocryphal works there is more frequent and no less conclusive reference to the endlessness of future chastisements. It is clearly spoken of in both the Ethiopic and the Slavonic Books of Enoch, works of great importance, for they were for a long time looked upon as authentic. In the former, which was written about a century before the Christian Era, it is stated that the wicked shall suffer endless retribution in Sheol (99), and that from this Hell of darkness and flame they shall never escape (98). The Slavonic Enoch, dating from the time of Christ, relates how two angels appeared to Enoch, and bade him ascend to heaven. He is conducted by them through the various regions of the other world, and in the northern portion of the third heaven is shown a very terrible place of savage darkness and impenetrable gloom, with fire on all sides, and on all sides cold and ice. He is told “that this place is prepared as an eternal inheritance for those who commit evil deeds on earth, who oppress the poor, are guilty of stealing, lying, evil thought, fornication, murder, and who worship Gods without life.” (Chap. I.)

The same belief in an eternity of torments for the

(1) Or more literally according to the Hebrew: “Shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt.” (Auth. vers.):

Where the same word *αιώνιον* is used both of life and contempt.

wicked is found in the Book of Jubilees, the Assumption of Moses, the Fourth Book of Maccabees, and the Apocalypse of Baruch. The opinions of Hellenistic Judaism may be gathered from the works of Philo and the Alexandrian Book of Wisdom, both of which speak of the punishment of the wicked as being everlasting. Professor Salmond, of Aberdeen, who has made a special study of the works of this period, some of them only recently discovered, writes (1) "The general belief in our Lord's time and the period immediately preceding, can be stated with approximate certainty. The Jewish books relevant to this question contain little to bear out the belief in the final restoration of all. They often use the word 'death,' 'perdition,' 'destruction,' which might be taken to point to annihilation. But in many cases the language is definitely expressive of the finality of retribution. It would appear that in Christ's time, with certain variations and exceptions, the belief was general in an enduring penalty in the other world for the absolutely evil, unrighteous gentiles, and apostate Jews." If we turn to the teachings of the different religious sects and schools of thought then existing among the Jews we find further confirmation of this opinion. Josephus (*Ant.* xviii., 1, 3) says of the Pharisees that: "they believe that souls have an immortal vigor in them, and that under the earth there will be rewards or punishments according as they have lived virtuously or viciously in this life, and that the latter are to be detained in an *everlasting prison*." He says that the Essenes "believe that souls are immortal and allot to bad souls a dark and tempestuous den, full of *never ceasing punishments*."

(1) Dictionary of the Bible—Art. "Eschatology."

Hence, of the three sects into which the Jews were divided at the time of Christ, the two that believed in a future life at all, believed that the wicked would undergo everlasting punishment.

The teaching of the Rabbinical schools is equally conclusive. At this period their teaching was represented by the schools of Hillel and Shammai, which however much they might differ in other respects, agreed on the question that some at least were condemned to everlasting punishment. According to the school of Shammai all mankind was arranged into three classes—the perfectly wicked, the perfectly good, and an intermediate class. The perfectly righteous “are immediately sealed to eternal life.” The perfectly wicked “are immediately sealed to Gehenna.” The intermediate class “go down to Gehenna, and moan, and come up again.” From this it is clear that this school taught the possibility of eternal punishment, especially as it quotes in support of its teaching the words of Dan. xii., 2, which have been already given, and in which the doctrine is clearly contained.

The other school, that of Hillel, held substantially the same views, though it limited the number of those who go down to Gehenna, and are punished there “unto ages of ages,” to certain definite classes of sinners, heretics, persecutors, apostates, and epicureans, while to the rest of sinners it allotted a punishment of twelve months duration, to be followed by annihilation of soul and body (1).

This evidence makes it abundantly clear that at the time when Our Lord preached, a belief in eternal punishment was almost universal among the Jews. It will

(1) Cf. Edersheim: “Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah.” Vol. II, Appendix XIX.

be necessary now to consider the passage of St. Matthew's Gospel, which we are discussing, in the light of this belief. If we find that Our Lord's words there are correctly translated by "Depart ye cursed into everlasting fire. . . . and these shall go into everlasting punishment," there can be no doubt but that He wished to teach that the punishments of hell should be endless. Such a meaning would have naturally suggested itself to His hearers, and would have been accepted by them as the obvious interpretation of His words.

Supporters of Universalism have made the most strenuous efforts to show that this translation is incorrect, and that the words usually rendered "everlasting punishment" do not in reality mean more than "age-lasting chastisement." Canon Carmichael says (1): "The words translated 'everlasting,' 'for ever and ever,' whether adjective or substantive, *never* carry with them the idea of 'endlessness.' The word *αἰών* is never used in the Scriptures or anywhere else in the sense of endlessness; in the Bible it has two meanings: first a period of time, second a spiritual and ethical meaning." If these statements were accurate they would settle the question, but it can be shown that they are not. Oxenham, who is a Universalist, though not of such an advanced school, admits (2) that *αἰώνιος* may mean everlasting, but denies that it always does; he admits too, what Dr. Pusey contends on the authority of the best Greek Oxford scholar of his day, that in classical Greek it has strictly that meaning. He quotes Schleusner, "the great lexicographer of the Greek New Testament," as stating that both

(1) *Ibid.*, p. 32.

(2) "What is of Faith, etc.?" p. 91.

αἰών and αἰώνιος have in the New Testament three distinct meanings, one of which is endless (when used with πῦρ, κρίσις, κόλασις etc.); the other two less than endless. Oxenham shows that of the seventy-two occasions in which αἰώνιος occurs in the New Testament there are only three in which it cannot mean everlasting. Of the others, in 66, including the passage under discussion, it may have that meaning, and in three more "it might quite properly be translated everlasting" (1). There are three places in St. Paul's epistles (2) where αἰώνιος is used in reference to God. It will be quite sufficient for our purpose if it *may* mean everlasting. When Christ in this passage, speaking of the just, said, 'And these shall go εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον' He spoke of an endless life, as we know from His discussion with the Saducees (Luke xx., 36) where He said "neither shall they die any more." How then could He have used the same word in the same sentence in an exactly similar manner and have meant something essentially different?

Many Universalists admit that αἰώνιος might mean eternal if we only looked at the form of the sentence, but they say that we must take into consideration the word with which it is joined, which they say, precludes the possibility of its having that meaning. They point out that the word translated "punishment" is the Greek word κόλασις defined in Liddel and Scott's dictionary as "a pruning, chastisement, correction, punishment," and not the word τιμωρία which, meaning punishment in the sense of torment, torture, would better express the idea of penalty. Hence they argue that if Our Lord

(1) "What is of Faith, etc.," p. 111.

(2) Rom. xvi, 26; I Tim. vi, 16; Heb. ix, 14.

wished to speak of an eternal punishment which must of necessity be retributive he would have used *τιμωρία* and not *κόλασις* which of its very nature means limitation. It must, however, be remembered that in all probability St. Matthew wrote, not in Greek, but in Syro-Chaldaic, the language which Our Lord himself used, and the word in that language is "tshaneq-ny-ko," from the root "shaneq," which in Latin means *cruciatu*s, *tormentum*, *pæna*, *supplicium*; in English, torture, torment, agony, without any reference to the idea of correction or chastisement. Again the interpretation of *κόλασις* and *τιμωρία* just given may be denied. The difference is not between chastisement or correction on the one hand and punishment, on the other, but between punishment and vengeance. In classical Greek *κολάζω* is used not only of correction, but also of punishment by death, e.g., Eurip. *Helena* 1172, *Lysias* 179, 35; while *τιμωρία* means really revenge, a revengeful punishment. In the New Testament *τιμωρέω* is used, not of vindictive, but of corrective punishment, so that if Christ had used it the objection could have been still urged. In fact *τιμωρία* and *κόλασις* in the New Testament are synonymous. In the Acts, *τιμωρέω* is twice used of the zealous Paul "punishing" the Christians for their infidelity to Judaism (Acts xxii, 5, xxvi, 11). In his Epistle to the Hebrews x. 29, St. Paul uses *τιμωρία* of the punishment he deserves who "hath trodden under foot the Son of God." Now, that punishment is evidently the same as that to which Jesus refers under the word *κόλασις* i.e., the punishment of the next life. (Compare vv. 27 and 28.) Consequently *κόλασις* and *τιμωρία* may be equally used of God's chastisements, and there is no reason why *αἰώνιος* in *εἰς κόλασιν αἰώνιον* should not be rendered "everlasting"; on the contrary, its jux-

taposition with *eis ζωὴν αἰώνιον* where it certainly has that meaning, makes it the only natural translation. When we remember too what we have already seen, namely that the Jews, to whom Our Lord spoke, already believing in the doctrine of eternal punishment, would naturally take His words in that sense; we are forced to the conclusion that He intended to teach that doctrine. The importance of the occasion on which He spoke must also be borne in mind. It was the evening of the last day of His ministry; He was teaching His chosen Apostles expressly and solemnly on the subject of the final judgment, and the rewards and punishments which were to follow; in such circumstances then, and with such an audience gathered around Him, we must believe that He meant to convey the meaning which His hearers would naturally have gathered from His words, and to teach that the punishment for sin would be everlasting. To say otherwise would be in the highest degree derogatory to Christ in His character of Teacher. If, when He used the words we read in Matthew xxv., He had not meant to teach, nay more, if He did not even hold, the doctrine of eternal punishment, then He would have been but a deceiver, playing fast and loose in the most important and sacred matters with trusting disciples. Such a thought is indeed unworthy of Him who is truth itself.

Having satisfied ourselves of the correct interpretation of this passage there will be no difficulty in admitting that the other texts which are brought forward in proof of the eternity of Hell have the meaning usually assigned to them. Thus the future punishment is called eternal (St. Matt. xviii., 8); it will last for ever and ever (Apoc. xiv., 2; xix., 3); the fire shall not be extinguished, and the worm shall not die (St. Mark ix., 43). The same duration is assigned to Hell as to Heaven (St. John iii.,

36). It were better for Judas that he had never been born (St. Matt. xxvi., 24), which would not be true if he were one day to enjoy Heaven.

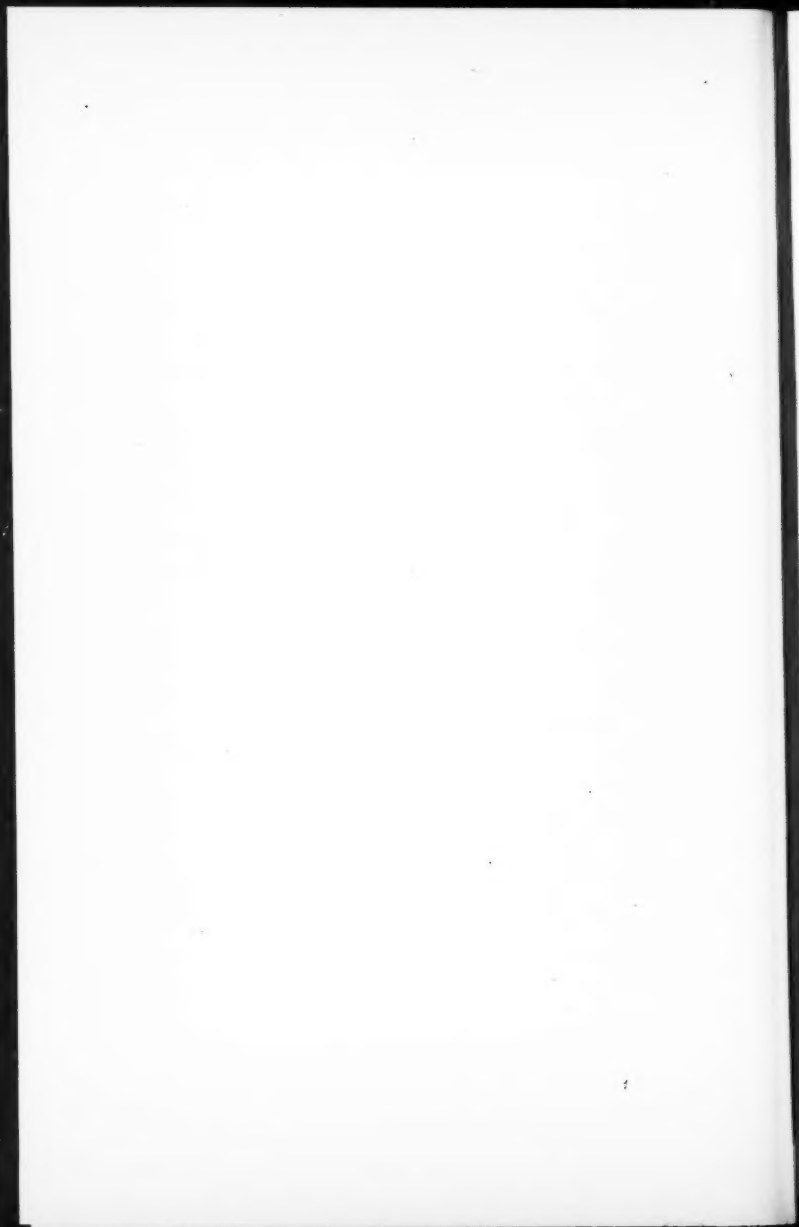
The accumulated evidence of all these passages makes it clear that the doctrine of eternal punishment is contained in the Scriptures; it is proclaimed by the Church in her formularies; her greatest Doctors have taught it; her children have ever believed it; no serious objection can be brought against it; is it then to be rejected because a self-sufficient and ease-seeking generation rebels against it? Long ago St. John Chrysostom addressed to those of his time who held similar opinions words, which fifteen centuries have not robbed of their force, "Oh, madness! oh foolish and stupid opinion! oh soul in love with pleasure and sin, and given over to wickedness! For these doctrines are born of the love of pleasure, and if those who held them would only embrace virtue they would soon be persuaded of Hell and freed from all doubt"(1). Surely such words from such an authority ought to make one pause before attacking the old belief. St. Augustine summed up that belief when he wrote: "Wherefore as there shall be no termination of the blessedness of the saints, so also shall the misery of the damned be as eternal and as endless as the beatitude of the others"(2).

GEORGE R. ROCHE, S.J.

The Irish Theological Quarterly, Dublin, January, 1910.

(1) Hom. 31 in Epist. Rom.

(2) *De Civ. Dei*, xxi, 23.



The Sons of St. Francis(1)

The great Franciscan family have been celebrating in this present year the seventh centenary of the foundation of the Order. That they have had in these rejoicings the hearty sympathy of the whole Catholic body and of all the other religious Institutes of the Church need hardly be insisted upon. The wonderful revival of interest in the character and work of the Poor Man of Assisi, which during the last half-century has spread, not merely among devout Catholics, but among the cultured of every creed, forms perhaps one of the most remarkable religious phenomena of our day. These old-world leanings, in such an age as ours, are certainly matter for congratulation, and we can only hope that the close study of the ascetical idea of the Church, as evidenced in the life of St. Francis, may spread further and lead to a clearer understanding of the part which Catholicism has played in the regeneration of mankind.

But hand in hand with the veneration of the great Apostle of Poverty, there has also grown up in our times, perhaps by way of reaction, an almost fanatical desire to vilify the religion of the Middle Ages, and in particular to assail the morality of the monks and friars who professed to be its spiritual guides. It is perhaps well for scholarship that there should exist amongst us a caste of historical scavengers, like the late Dr. H. C. Lea and Mr. G. G. Coulton, who are willing to spend their literary lives contentedly over the manure heap, and who persuade themselves that by assiduously raking together all that

(1) *The Scottish Grey Friars*. By W. Moir Bryce. 2 vols. royal 8vo. Edinburgh, 1909.

is ignoble they are discharging a duty to society. No one who is at all acquainted with mediæval records will feel disposed to deny that terrible corruptions prevailed at almost every period, and that the ranks of the Religious Orders passed through the ordeal by no means unscathed. In particular the Grey Friars, who probably outnumbered the rest, or at any rate were more in evidence, were exposed, by the very nature of their vocation, to quite exceptional temptations. Undoubtedly their ideals suffered, and it is no marvel that in an age before the Jesuits had appeared upon the scene to attract to themselves the largest share of obloquy, the Franciscans or Cordeliers, as they were also called, should often have been singled out as special objects of attack.

It is easy, of course, to make these accusations. It is easy to justify them in a measure, by an appeal to the scandalous stories which in all ages are prone to circulate at the expense of those who make a profession of piety. There is no more reason, we conceive, to put unconditional faith in all the stories we read of scandalous friars, than there is to accept as history all the miracles and revelations, the apparitions of the devil, and the supernatural portents of all kinds which are equally abundant in the same class of literature. So far as possible, it is necessary to get back to the records, and though these are few and difficult to appraise, it is upon them rather than upon promiscuous gossip of the denunciations of malevolent Reformers, that our estimate of the mendicant Orders ought to be based.

For this reason we welcome with peculiar satisfaction the publication of a work on the Scottish Grey Friars whose appearance synchronizes most happily with the celebration of the Franciscan seventh centenary. Mr.

W. Moir Bryce has clearly devoted himself to this work as a labor of love, giving the first place in his thought to the facts of history, so far as the diligent examination of records can disclose them, but retaining throughout a kindly human sympathy for the subjects of his monograph. Mr. Bryce is not a Catholic, (1) neither does he write in ignorance of the works of such writers as Mr. Coulton and Dr. H. C. Lea, (2) but he is, on the other hand, a scholar who is evidently thoroughly at home with historical documents, printing many valuable records of the Order for the first time, and showing a wide acquaintance with the vast Franciscan literature which has grown up in recent years. The verdict of such a student upon the work of the Friars Minor in Scotland is obviously a matter of much interest and at the present juncture when every effort seems to be made to present the history of the Religious Orders in the most lurid light, it is satisfactory to be able to quote this impartial witness as dissenting unequivocally from the denunciations of the Reformers and their modern imitators. Mr. Bryce is far too careful a scholar to indulge in indiscriminate panegyric. He fully recognizes, as all honest inquirers must do, that there goes on in every institution which depends upon human effort, a certain process of degeneration, capable, if suffered to continue unchecked, of resulting in the most deplorable excesses. But he also does not shut his eyes to the effects of many revivifying influences, introduced by the honest desire to effect a reform and to bring back the careless and relaxed Re-

(1) See Vol. I, p. 484, where Mr. Bryce speaks of "that symbolism which finds so small a place in our Presbyterian creed."

(2) See, for example, the notes on p. 112 and p. 129 of Vol. I.

ligious to the standard of the Rule. It will be interesting to note some of the conclusions to which he has been led by many years of study given to all available materials, manuscript and printed, which could illustrate his subject. And in the first place we may note that his reply to the assailants who more than any others have strived to prejudice Scottish public opinion against the friars, we mean George Buchanan and Sir Thomas Craig of Riccarton, is unequivocal and overwhelming. Let us begin with the latter authority, who, as our author points out, both by reason of the gravity of the charge and the personality of the accuser has probably done more than any other man to create a bad impression of the Scottish Franciscans in the minds of his countrymen at the present day. In his learned work entitled *Jus Feudale* completed in 1603, but only published in 1655, Sir Thomas Craig writes:

Concerning the Friars Minor, there is no question; professing indeed a simulated piety, they had no lands or estates, but they became very rich by interfering with wills under pretext of piety and from a zeal born of a silly piety. This was discovered after the unfortunate battle of Flodden; for those who were leaving to fight were threatened with every kind of evil unless they made confession to and received absolution from the Friars Minor. Notwithstanding, they entrusted to them all their money, muniments, and everything of value they possessed, expecting that if they fell, those to whom they were entrusting them in all good faith would restore them to their children. But these, instead of responding to the trust imposed in them, applied the goods of those who fell in battle to the purchase of land and the construction of a church and monastery for the men of their Order.

And the same thing happened at the battle of Pinkie.(1)

It is a matter for much regret that most of the charges levelled against the Religious Orders are not as definite as this. Mr. Bryce has had no difficulty in making short work of an accusation which could so readily be tested. As he points out, we can make an exact list of all the Franciscan houses which existed in Scotland in the sixteenth century. So far as the Conventuals are concerned, the latest friary belonging to this branch of the Order was founded at Kirkcudbright in 1455—1456, which is more than half a Century before the battle of Flodden. We are forced to fall back, therefore, upon the Observantines, who did erect one, and only one, friary, that of Jedburgh, in the course of the sixteenth century. The Papal Bull authorizing this was issued in January, 1522, consequently the statement of Sir Thomas Craig, so far as regards the battle of Pinkie, which took place in 1547, must be an absolute fabrication. But it is practically certain, as Mr. Bryce shows by an almost needlessly patient piece of demonstration, that the story is equally unveracious in its reference to the battle of Flodden. It is impossible to conceive that the Friars could have annexed landed property committed to their charge without arousing protest on the part of the heirs of the deceased, a protest of which there is no trace. Moreover, we find that there is not a single instance in which the Observantines are known to have possessed annual rents from private lands at the time when the friars were driven out, though we have definite record of their sources of income in every case except Jedburgh. As the result of a most painstaking study of all available

(1) Craig, *Jus Feudale*, p. 122 (Ed. 1722).

means of information regarding the resources of the Franciscans, aided by a comparison with the possessions of the Dominicans and other Mendicants,(1) Mr. Bryce has come to the conclusion that not even in the case of the Scottish Conventuals, but much less among the Observants, do we come across any trace of substantial relaxation in the matter of poverty. For example, he says:

The Friary in Dundee [Conventual] sheltered a community of at least thirteen members, at the end of the fifteenth century; and in view of its inadequate endowments their dependence on casual charity is only too evident, whether in the shape of food, of clothing fashioned by the needle of devout women or paid for out of the royal exchequer, of offerings given at the daily Masses which occupied the brethren of Dundee until noon, or of legacies which were indiscriminately represented by gifts of money, books and victual. The "Bishop's Charity," which amounted to the sum of four or eight pounds annually to the brethren of Ayr [Observant], was a source of revenue beyond reproach; so that in the last report, the Franciscans were essentially the poor clergy of the Roman Church both in land and endowments.

Their services were voluntary and they depended upon voluntary support. The degree of this support exasperated the Reformers because it buttressed the strongest bulwark of the Church in Scotland, and for three and a half centuries it has been the fashion to point the finger

(1) The results are tabulated in Vol. I, p. 140, and a number of hitherto unprinted documents are published entire in the first part of Vol. II.

of scorn at the Grey Friars as men of wealth sheltering behind the hypocritical cloak of poverty. Professor Brewer [in *Monumenta Franciscana* vol. 1] has aptly remarked that their sphere of work was envied by no other Churchman. Absolute poverty was the dream of an idealist, but the resources of the wealthiest friary in Scotland will stand the test of the severest examination from the absolute or the comparative point of view, if we have knowledge of fact, and for one instant apply the canons of historical criticism to the fabric of prejudice that has been reared upon *ex parte* statements.(1)

The interest of the Scottish clergy in Franciscanism says Mr. Bryce again, may be said to date from the foundation of the first Observantine (2) friary in Edinburgh, and the most striking feature of the Order . . . is the continued support accorded to these friars by the more enlightened members of the Roman hierarchy. The reason is ready to hand. As the active missionaries of the large towns the Observantines became the yeomen of the Church, eager to enhance its prestige by their evangelical activity in the parish, and to protect its fair name by a rigid observance of their vows. The friar was ever ready to answer the call of the sick or moribund burgher. Friary discipline imposed aloofness upon him. Hence "on days other than holy days," whenever the friars were observed in the streets of the town, the people exclaimed in astonishment, "the friars are going out; someone is dying." Within the friary no intercourse or

(1) Bryce, *The Scottish Grey Friars*, I, p. 137.

(2) Mr. Bryce throughout his work prints the word *Observantine*. We have taken the liberty in our quotations from his pages to adhere to what seems to us the more usual spelling.

meals with laymen were allowed, but on his journeys the friar was a favored guest. . . it may be claimed on the part of the Scottish Observantine, that his loyalty to the spirit of the Rule, to the tripartite vow of poverty, obedience and chastity, and in the last resort to his Church, constitutes one of the brightest pages in the history of Roman Catholicism in this country.(1)

Considering the spiritual decadence which we are taught to connect with this period, an age in which Dr. Lea assures us that nothing but the forms of religion remained, all this is wonderful enough. It is easy to understand how the scholar who has worked out his facts by patient and minute study of the original records, should repudiate with indignation such an accusation as that of Craig, and that he should consider that the grain of truth, if ever any existed, "cannot now be separated from the prejudice and exaggeration of his indictment." Hence our author goes on:

The sixteen friaries in Scotland [*i. e.*, the Conventuals and Observantines taken together] were the product of voluntary support, and their maintenance depended entirely upon the continuance of that support. The annual rents in their possession did not produce an income of £10 for each friary; and, were the legacies which they received from laymen many times more valuable and numerous than they can now be ascertained to have been, the Order would still have remained the poorest of the great brotherhoods in the pre-Reformation Church in this country.(2)

(1) *Op. cit.* Vol. I, p. 263.

(2) *Op. cit.* Vol. I, p. 139.

But what is to be said of the charge of profligacy and license which forms the main theme of Buchanan's satirical poem *Franciscanus*? For quite a large school of modern writers the truth of these charges is too self-evident to make it worth while to discuss them. "The corruption of the Franciscan Order is a commonplace of history," says a critic in a recent important University publication.⁽¹⁾ Here again, as it seems to us, Mr. Bryce has shown a true appreciation of the situation in his line of defence. To produce evidence to prove that no Franciscans were ever profligate or hypocritical is from the very nature of things impossible. But it is an easy task to show that the accuser, who is pre-eminently identified with these charges, was himself mendacious, vindictive, and grossly careless of verisimilitude in a number of matters in which his accuracy can be tested. What we have already learnt from Dr. Bryce, together with the data supplied by existing architectural remains, sufficiently warn us how much we are to believe when Buchanan in his sonorous Latin diatribes speaks of the friars as associated with "temples grand and stately mansions," with "the cloud-capt temple and the lofty fane," "the majestic spire," or "the palaces which almost reach the sky," in which also "they crammed their paunches and swilled the sparkling wine." So, too, the friar is depicted "in full robes and gorgeous vesture drest," possessing "rich domains" and "never resting until he has

(1) *George Buchanan—Glasgow Quatercentenary Studies*, p. 200. Glasgow, 1900. Substantially the same view is maintained by Professor J. Herkless in another University publication, *George Buchanan, a Memorial*, St. Andrews, 1907, pp. 53-59. This gentleman's apology for Buchanan's tone in his *Franciscanus* is singularly ill-informed, and of itself quite inconclusive.

cast aside the cowl and twisted cord for the regal mitre and imperial pride.”(1) Hardly less convincing is our author’s comparison of the three separate accounts given by Buchanan at different times of the circumstances under which the satire was composed. One of these accounts is derived from certain recently published records of the Lisbon Inquisition by which Buchanan was examined in 1551 and very mercifully treated.(2) No doubt he never expected that his statements there made in durance vile would some day see the light, but we possess them now and we are able to detect that in several points they cannot be reconciled with assertions afterwards made in his Preface to *Franciscanus* and in his History. Long ago students of his works must have learned that his own standards of virtue were far from exalted, and an admirer of the humanist is compelled to own that “his verses are open to the censure of a license not excusable in a censor of the morals of the clergy.”(3) Mr. Bryce, then, seems thoroughly justified when he says of Buchanan’s satire:

In reality *Franciscanus* is a deliberate travesty of historical fact. It originated in feelings of revenge. It is replete with statements capable of immediate disproof. Its end is achieved by misrepresentation, and its dedication is a lasting memorial to its author’s inventive genius. In only one instance is the advocate for the defence compelled to appeal for credence on the ground of the

(1) Bryce, I, p. 115. He points out that from 1231 to 1560, only one Grey Friar was elevated to a bishopric in Scotland.

(2) The process has been published entire in *O Archivo historico portuguez*, 1906. pp. 241-281, and partially in a monograph by Senhor G. Henriques, 1906.

(3) *Dictionary of National Biography*, VII, 187.

monstrosity of the charge. The awful account of the immorality of the friars, of the education which they received in the arts of seduction, of the manner in which they . . . ridded themselves of a mistress who had ceased to please and of the revenge which they were bidden to take upon a maid who resisted their advances, must be left to the belief or disbelief of the reader.(1)

As our author goes on to point out, referring in particular to Abbot Gasquet and Father Pollen, the prevalence of immorality in the Church before the Reformation is now frankly recognized by writers of every shade of opinion, and it would be idle to contend "that the Franciscan vow of chastity was preserved unsullied merely because no instance of moral depravity can now be adduced." None the less Mr. Bryce rightly appeals to the weight of negative evidence as rendering any sweeping accusation of corruption such as that brought by Buchanan utterly improbable. There was, he points out, no love lost between the friars and John Knox, or even between them and the satirist, Sir David Lindsay. None the less, both the one and the other Reformer, while freely attacking the friars for their superstition, their idolatry and other supposed defects, give us no inkling of that sort of widespread debauchery which is made so prominent by Buchanan. So far as Lindsay bears witness at all it is to the fact that the Franciscans formed the great spiritual influence of his day.

Moreover, there can be no question that the Grey Friars, and more especially the Observantines, enjoyed a large measure of popular favor, and were thoroughly

(1) *Op. cit.* I, p. 112.

trusted by high and low.(1) When, upon the death of James V. and the appointment of the Earl of Arran to the Regency, the Reformers in 1543 became actively aggressive and attempted to sack the Observantine friary in Edinburgh, the burghers of the city rose in its defence.(2) Even though the same determined attitude of sympathy was not displayed everywhere—it seems to have been notably less in the case of the Conventuals at Dundee—there is plenty of evidence that the Friars generally had a hold upon the hearts of the people. If they were often the first object of attack, this is probably to be interpreted, as Mr. Bryce points out, as a tribute to the universal feeling that they were the backbone of the party loyal to Rome. Moreover, the moral integrity of the Observantines received its most conclusive attestation in their behaviour when finally their way of life was proscribed in Scotland, and they had to meet the alternative of conformity or exile. No sensual-minded ecclesiastic of the type depicted by Buchanan, that is to say, no man whose religious profession was a mere mask, would face opprobrium, exile, and hardship when the way of apostasy was easy and provision secure. Yet, as Mr. Bryce points out, the Observantines remained true to their faith almost without exception. The Scottish Observantine Province at the close of 1559, when they were forcibly dispossessed of their friaries, seems to have numbered something over eighty members. They decided to seek a refuge abroad, and all but two or three sailed for the Netherlands in the summer of 1560. The

(1) For example, the letter of commendation of James IV in 1507 is certainly no mere formal document. (Bryce, II, p. 277.)

(2) See Bryce, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 81, 281.

two or three dissentients, though they at first remained loyal to Catholicism and exercised their priestly functions in hiding, fell away in the end, for as Father Hay tells us in his precious narrative, under stress of daily anti-Catholic example, and "lured by the blandishments of the world, they at length joined the rebellious heretics." But this was a very different record from that of either the Franciscan Conventuals or the Dominicans. Of the latter, says Mr. Bryce, "at least thirty-five abjured Roman Catholicism, including the Provincial, John Grierson, and the Priors of Edinburgh, Stirling, Aberdeen, Perth, Elgin or Inverness, and Wigton. John Law, Sub-Prior of the Glasgow Dominicans, also recanted and received the usual pension."⁽¹⁾ As for the Conventuals, they do not seem to have numbered more than thirty at the close of 1559. "Sixteen or seventeen recanted, including their Provincial and four out of the seven Guardians. Three, if not four Guardians, accepted office in the new Church."⁽²⁾ As in England, this last-mentioned circumstance throws a flood of light upon the sincerity of Reformers' denunciation of the Friars. As long as these Religious remained true to the Faith in which they had been born and in which they had bound themselves by solemn vows, they were continually satirized by their opponents as both dissolute and ignorant. The moment that they yielded to pressure and were content to renounce their allegiance to Rome, they suddenly became men worthy of all respect for their learning and probity, while not the slightest scruple was manifested about

(1) Bryce, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 157, note.

(2) *Ibid.* p. 158.

advancing them to responsible cures in the religious system to which they conformed.

But there is yet another indication throwing light upon the moral character of the Friars to which Mr. Bryce rightly attaches a very high importance. This is the evidence of sixteenth century wills, and more particularly of those executed by high-placed ecclesiastics. Here again our author speaks not at random and from vague generalities, but from a minute and first-hand study of the original records. He sums up the position admirably thus:

Considering the high repute which the Observantines enjoyed, it is not surprising to find that they received a much larger share of testamentary charity than the Conventuals. But in criticizing these bequests, it is only just that the personality of the donors should be considered. The clergy, we may assume, were beyond the influence of a "zeal born of silly piety."⁽¹⁾ They were in a position to appreciate the value of the work done by the friars, and were not to be coerced into purchasing absolution or extreme unction from a friar priest, as Buchanan expressly asserts and Craig implies was the custom at the deathbed of a layman. Midway between the clergy and the laity were the members of the Third Order, less independent than the Churchmen it is true; but their testamentary bequests merely accorded with their deliberate sympathies during life. They correspond to-day to the parishioner or church-member who takes an active interest in the affairs of his church, and contributes to its revenues in a greater or less degree. Keep-

(1) This is a reference to the phrase of Sir Thomas Craig occurring in the passage quoted above.

ing these distinctions in view, the forty-one legacies traced to the nine Observantine friaries(1) show that the bequests of the Churchmen amounted to £181 13s. 4d., four bolls of malt, two stones of cheese, and some books; while the laity contributed £191 15 s., one load eight bolls of wheat, two bolls of barley and eight bolls of meal. Thus the testamentary charity of the clergy was an exact counterpart of the liberal support which they gave to the friary in yearly alms during their lifetime. May it not be accepted as a striking testimony to a prevalent belief in the *bona fides* of the friar, and a practical recognition of the value of his work?(2)

Moreover, though the Observantines were the recipients of the larger share of such benefactions, especially at so late a date as 1539, the same line of argument does also speak strongly in favor of the Conventuals. In England where the distinction between Conventuals and Observantines was perhaps less emphasized than in the sister kingdom,(3) the legacies to the Friars were abundant even to the end, although there undoubtedly was some falling off in the sixteenth century. An analysis of a large number of wills of persons belonging to the humbler classes of society as preserved in the registers of the Norwich Consistory Court "shows that at a time when the Grey Friars were falling out of favor every third will conveyed a gift to them;"(4) and Mr. Howlett

(1) Mr. Bryce's figures are based upon the only accessible fragments "of the Registers of Testaments of the three dioceses (Dunblane, Glasgow and St. Andrews) which lend themselves to critical examination after the year 1539."

(2) Bryce, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 138.

(3) See Howlett, *Monumenta Franciscana*, II, p. xxiii.

(4) *Monumenta Franciscana*, II, p. xxvii.

discriminatingly points out that many of these wills are those of parish priests who did not allow any feeling of rivalry to prevent them from bestowing their money where they believed that it would most profit their souls. The same inference might be deduced, if perhaps somewhat less overwhelmingly, from the Somerset wills, published by Mr. Weaver,(1) and from a number of other collections of English mediæval testamentary dispositions which have recently been made accessible in print. As Dr. Augustus Jessopp concisely says: "to the last the wills of the clergy were full of legacies to the preaching friars,"(2) and by "the preaching friars" he does not mean to limit the appellation to the Dominicans only; but it was true of them, and this is the more interesting because in their case there was no distinction among different branches of the Order analogous to that which separated the Conventuals from the Observantines among the Franciscans.

As the final outcome, then, of a study of Mr. Boyce's most painstaking and valuable researches, we are led to reaffirm for Scotland the conclusion which the writer just mentioned has laid down in the case of England with characteristic incisiveness. We wish that we could as heartily endorse all the summary judgments contained in Dr. Jessopp's *Penny History of the Church of England*, as we can his verdict upon the work of the Friars:

Differing somewhat in their several Rules, the two Orders of Dominicans and Franciscans were at one in their great aim, namely, in showing an example of un-

(1) *Somerset Mediæval Wills*, edited by J. W. Weaver for the Somerset Record Society, 3 vols.

(2) Jessopp, *Before the Great Pillage*, p. 118.

worldliness of life, and in preaching the Gospel of Christ "without charge" to the poorest and the lowliest. They lived literally upon alms. They sought no gain in money; they asked only for their daily bread from those to whom they offered their ministrations. They were most earnest itinerant preachers, living on the very poorest fare, clothed in a single coarse garment or "habit," resolutely refusing to own houses and lands. . . . For more than three hundred years the Mendicant Friars in England were, on the whole, a power for good up and down the land, the friends of the poor, and the evangelizers of the masses. During all that long time they were supported only by the voluntary offerings of the people at large—just as the hospitals for the sick and the incurable are supported now; and when they were driven out of their houses, and their churches were looted in common with those of the monks and nuns, the Friars had no broad acres and no manors, no *real property*, to seize, and very little was gained by the spoiling of their goods; but inasmuch as they were at all time the most devoted servants and subjects of the Pope of Rome, they had to go at last, when King Henry VIII. had made up his mind to be ruler over his own kingdom, and to be supreme head over State and Church.(1)

This is the judgment of robust common sense, and it offers, like Mr. Bryce's sumptuous work, a refreshing contrast to the atrabilious censoriousness of such a writer as Mr. G. G. Coulton. Degeneration undoubtedly there was. It is possible that at one period or another, or in one locality or another, this degeneration went to

(1) Jessopp, *Penny History of the Church of England*, S.P.C.K. (Ed. 1908), p. 33.

the length of extreme moral decay. But the Franciscan Order, nevertheless, contained within itself, in the sublime ideal bequeathed to it by its founder, a vivifying principle which was constantly manifested in fresh efforts to get back to a high standard of apostolic perfection. Even so unfriendly a writer as Principal T. M. Lindsay, the panegyrist of Luther, bears witness to the leaven which was working in the Catholic Church, at the close of the fifteenth century, long before Luther appeared upon the scene. While holding that the secular clergy and the Monastic Orders seemed as a whole content to remain in their state of decadence,

It was different, however [he says], with the Dominicans, the Franciscans, and the Mendicant Augustinians. These begging Friars reformed themselves strenuously in the mediæval sense of reformation. They went back to their old lives of mortifying the flesh, of devoting themselves to works of practical benevolence and of self-denying activity. As a consequence, they, and not the parish clergy, had become the trusted religious leaders of the people. . . . These turned for the consolations of religion to the poor-living, hard-working Franciscans and Augustinian Eremites who listened to their confessions and spoke comfortingly to their souls, who taught the children and said Masses without taking fees.(1)

We have not found room to speak of the account given by Mr. Bryce of the sphere of action of the Scottish Grey Friars and of the details of their daily lives. The subject is an interesting one, and our author has bestowed upon it the same minute attention which he has devoted to the other aspects of his subject, but the ma-

(1) *Cambridge Modern History*, II, p. 106.

terials, as we might expect, are regrettably scanty, and we must be content to point out that his investigation of such details has not led him to modify in any respect the thoroughly sympathetic appreciation which he professes throughout for the work of the Grey Friars in the kingdom north of the Tweed.

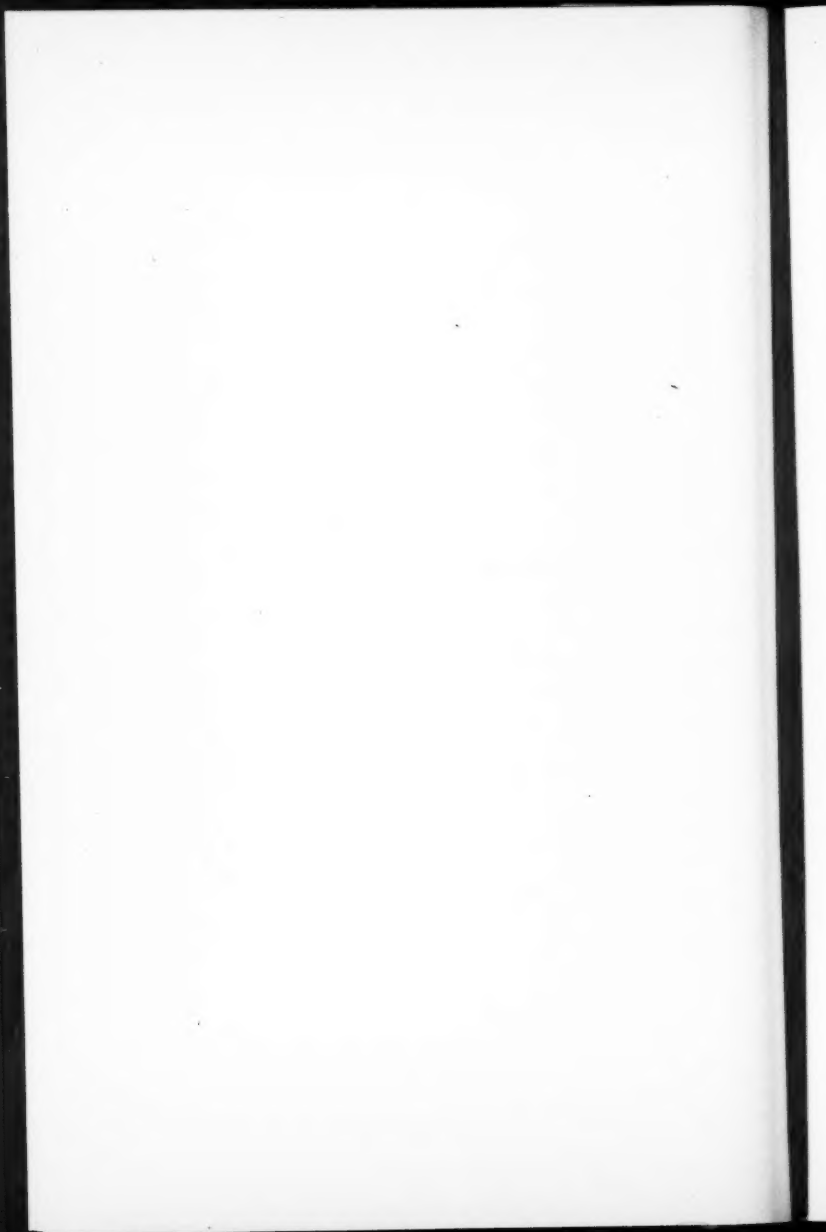
HERBERT THURSTON.

The Month, London, Dec., 1909.



Catholic Missions

I.



Catholic Missions

I.

One of the most consoling pages of contemporary Church history is that of missions among unbelievers. Reduced to almost nothing a century ago, they are now as full of life as they were in their most flourishing period, as they were in the days of the apostles, in the time of the Benedictine missions among the Germans and Slavs, and in the two centuries which followed the discovery of America and the East Indies.

Towards the middle of the eighteenth century, although they had fallen off somewhat they still kept a good share of their former grandeur, but from 1759, when the Society of Jesus was expelled from Portugal, their decay was extremely rapid. The expulsion of the Jesuits from the Portuguese, French and Spanish dominions deprived the missions of over 3,000 laborers, whose places it was found impossible to supply from other sources; and in 1773 the irreligious ministers of the Bourbon courts succeeded in putting the last touches to their subversive work by wresting from Pope Clement XIV the brief suppressing the Society of Jesus. The Revolution of 1789 which almost blotted out of existence all French missionary effort, was soon followed by the struggles for independence in the South American colonies. The political upheavals and religious persecutions which came after the separation from Spain brought ruin to almost every mission within their limits.

SOUTH AMERICA.

By the middle of the eighteenth century, nearly all Latin America had been won for the Church and civili-

zation; but the political changes and the attendant unsettling of the social order not only hindered further missionary work but also occasioned the return to savagery of many tribes which, though converted to the faith, were not strong enough in its profession to withstand successfully the harsh trials to which their constancy was subjected. Then came European wars and revolutions and the persecution of the religious orders, thus effectively drying up the sources of supply for the mission fields. At the end of the first third of the nineteenth century, Catholic missions were little more than an immense heap of ruins.

Little by little affairs began to mend; the missions picked up during the second third of the century, rather slowly at first, but gathering strength and energy until in our day, enthusiastic interest in them has developed in one Catholic nation after another. The older religious orders, the more recent congregations, the diocesan clergy and the faithful in general now rival one another in their zeal, and the number of missionaries and catechumens warrants bright hopes for future spiritual conquests.

Latin America has shared in this general revival. What seemed so near realization in the eighteenth century now promises to be verified in the twentieth, thanks to the missionaries who have returned after the lapse of generations to their former centres of activity and have penetrated further than their predecessors into the mountains and forests of the tropics and have brought the faith to the Patagonians and the indomitable inhabitants of Araucania.

The various mission districts report a total of about 1,000,000 Catholics, but this number includes Europeans and their children, mixed bloods, and the descendants of

the converts of a former generation as well as the converts made since the reawakening of the missionary spirit. As representatives of all these classes are found at practically every station, it is extremely difficult to get exact statistics of conversions. However, the missionaries, who, from being on the spot, are best qualified to judge, are of the opinion that converts and their children amount to half the total. It is next to impossible to fix with anything akin to accuracy the number of heathen still remaining in Latin America, for the official census-taker has never been able to scale the mountains, ford the rivers, and cross the chasms which separate whole tribes from the white man and his ways. With all due reservations, therefore, the missionaries place the total at two millions. Of these, 600,000 are credited to Brazil, 350,000 to Peru, 250,000 to Ecuador, and varying numbers to the remaining republics. It is plain, therefore, that if numbers be considered, the missions of Latin America are not so important as those in Asia and Africa; but still they claim attention on account of the bright future which awaits the countries in which they are established.

NORTH AMERICA.

There are some missions among the Indians in the United States, in Canada and other parts of the British dominions and in the Dutch possessions; but the policy of extermination pursued by the Anglo-Saxon has reduced the indigenous population to a few hundred thousand of whom 200,000 are Catholics.

Much more important than mission work among the Indians is that among the negroes of the United States, who number upwards of eight millions. It is true that a good portion of them, say four or five millions, belong

exteriorly to the Protestant persuasion, but among them as well as among those of no church affiliation much good could be done. But the Catholics of the United States have not given to this work the attention that its importance demands. Hence, the number of colored Catholics is only about two hundred thousand. But lately, and especially since the formation of the commission for the negro and Indian Missions in the United States, the work has been undertaken more systematically and more energetically. The commission consists of the Cardinal Archbishop of Baltimore and the Archbishops of Philadelphia and New York.

Besides the Josephites, who devote themselves to work among the negroes, and the Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament founded by Mother Katherine Drexel exclusively for work among the negroes and Indians, other religious of both sexes as well as the secular clergy have provided missionaries for these races. The labors of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate among the Indians in British North America and the Jesuit missions in Alaska deserve special and separate treatment.

A glance at the existing Catholic missions in Africa will give us an idea of their organization and present flourishing condition, and ought to arouse our interest and claim our practical help in every missionary undertaking.

MISSIONS AMONG THE MOHAMMEDANS.

Between Christian Europe and the pagan peoples of Africa are placed the Mohammedans, who for many centuries were the chief obstacle to Catholic mission work and the most formidable enemy of the faith. They still present the greatest difficulties to conversion, and are

actively engaged in spreading their tenets in Africa, and even in India and in the islands of the Far East. But only in isolated cases can they now exercise that armed propaganda which has won for them a following of two hundred and thirty millions. There are not a few writers who are much concerned about Panislamism with its mysterious headquarters at Dscharabub, with its agents scattered through Northern and Central Africa, and with its bold plans to drive Christianity out of Africa. Some even fear that the movement may extend to all Mohammedans and produce a great social convulsion; but it seems to us at present that in such a view of the case there is more of fancy than of real danger. It is nearer the truth to say that Mohammedanism, like Buddhism and Brahminism, is beginning to suffer in its very foundations from the influence of European infidelity. All the more reason, therefore, have Catholics to profit by this spiritual crisis, and by using the weapons of infidelity, schools, namely, and the press, to effect the conversion of those peoples.

Protestantism has not failed to recognize the present critical conditions when among the thirty-three million Mohammedans of Turkey, Persia and Egypt there now begin to prevail ideas which must radically transform those countries, and when the sixty-two millions in India and the twenty millions in China are in the midst of one of the profoundest evolutions that history records. For this reason, at the conference held in Cairo in 1906, the sixty-two delegates of the various Protestant mission bodies resolved to attempt on a grand scale the "evangelization" of the Mohammedan nations; and in carrying out the purpose they have undertaken an active propaganda, and have multiplied with dizzy rapidity their

schools and other centres of instruction in Egypt, Syria, Asia Minor, etc.

Catholic missions established in Egypt, throughout the Turkish empire and in Persia have also developed surprisingly of late. Primary schools, colleges, technical schools, hospitals, orphan asylums, houses for pilgrims, and the like, have increased in number with churches and convents. It is true that all this progressive movement has had for its object rather to preserve Catholics in the true faith and win over schismatics than to convert Mohammedans. But these also experience the beneficent effects of mission work, for individuals are continually preparing for the reception of baptism, and the indirect influence exercised over all by removing prejudice and gaining their good will is a preparation for conversion which should be eagerly pressed. Moreover, whatever tends to strengthen the Catholic element in these countries is likewise an indirect preparation for mission work among the Mohammedans; and here it is undeniable that there has been notable progress. Let it suffice to recall the thousands of Copts, Armenians and Nestorians who have returned to the bosom of the Church, above all since the election of Leo XIII. The number of Catholics in Persia, Asiatic Turkey and Egypt is now more than 1,300,000; there are over 3,000 priests, of whom about 900 are European missionaries; there are upwards of 2,200 lay brothers and a still greater number of nuns. In the schools and other centres of instruction there are 100,000 children.

A felicitous attempt at a mission among the Mohammedans is that which the late Cardinal Lavignerie's White Fathers have made among the Kabyles of Algeria, by establishing in that mountainous district schools, hospitals

and the like. In reality, instruction and Christian charity are the most efficacious means to enlighten the Mussulman's darkened understanding and soften his stony heart. The task is truly difficult, and more so on account of the war which the French authorities wage against the Church; but, in spite of all drawbacks, the White Fathers have won the hearts of those wild mountaineers, and in 1906 had thirteen residences with 804 Catholics and 163 catechumens, seventeen schools with 844 children and seventeen institutions of beneficence conducted by 92 White Sisters. The converts who have passed through a long probation, are remarkable for their solid piety and zeal. There are well founded hopes of effecting the conversion of entire tribes. The White Fathers have also followed the same method in the Sahara, where they already have a few converts and 480 children in their schools. In Morocco, which is of so much concern to Spain, so restricted is the liberty permitted to the missionaries that the Spanish Franciscans, who are in charge, can hardly do more than exercise the sacred ministry among the European residents and prepare the field for more auspicious times. In the Spanish colony of Rio de Oro, we do not know that any attempt at founding a mission has yet been made.

MISSIONS AMONG THE HEATHEN.

Besides the forty-four million Mohammedans in northern Africa, there are in the central and southern parts some one hundred and thirty millions of heathen sunk in the grossest fetichism. There still reign among them, and to a greater extent than is commonly believed, cannibalism, the sacrifice of human victims, polygamy, and the horrors of the seizure and sale of slaves; thousands

of men perish yearly in the judicial tests by poison; thousands of children meet a violent death, the victims of the infamous witch-doctors; add to all this, the ferocious wild beasts, the poisonous serpents, the terrible sleeping sickness, and the deadly climate. But all these obstacles have served but to intensify the zeal of the missionaries.

Mission work in Central and Southern Africa, almost at a standstill in the eighteenth century, took another start, humble and painful though it was, in the second third of the nineteenth century, thanks to the intrepid missionaries of the Congregation of the Holy Ghost. Later came the great journeys of celebrated explorers like Livingstone and Stanley; the partition of African territory among the European nations, while Spanish cabinets squabbled over petty questions of party politics; and the anti-slavery movement, whose great champion was Cardinal Lavigerie. The missionaries profited by these favorable circumstances and divided Africa among themselves for organized missionary effort, filling up the gaps which the climate had produced in their ranks. We shall survey the principal African missions, following the coast from the Spanish colony of Rio de Oro.

From the Senegal river to the Spanish possessions on the Gulf of Guinea there is a long stretch of coast line where the climate, generally speaking, is fatal for Europeans. Outside the small territory of Portuguese Guinea, flourishing missions exist throughout that deadly district. Not one of them, however, is very well developed, for the Vicariate Apostolic of Senegambia and the Prefecture Apostolic of the Senegal together count only 19,500 Catholics; but the initial difficulties met with in founding a mission have been happily overcome, and the stream of conversions has begun to flow. Another of the principal

fruits of many of these missions is to check the advance of Islam, which, but for them, would speedily overrun all that region. The chief laborers in this thorn-strewn mission field are the Congregation of the Holy Ghost and the priests of the Seminary of African Missions of Lyons, France.

Some mention should be made of Spanish Guinea, which, from 1857 to 1870 was in the hands of Spanish Jesuits and was later on made over to the zealous Sons of the Immaculate Heart of Mary, a Spanish congregation. In 1898, the Catholics numbered 2,897; in 1908, they had risen to 6,963. But at the cost of what great sacrifices these results were achieved is seen when we consider that, from 1883 to 1908, two hundred and thirteen religious were sent to the mission. Of these, fifty-two died, the great majority being under forty years of age; and eighty-four returned broken down in health, twenty of them succumbing after reaching Spain.

Next come in order French Congo, Belgian Congo, and the Portuguese possessions of Angola and the small territory of Cabinda. In French Congo with a population of over seven millions and the Portuguese possessions with four millions, we find seven mission districts under the care of the Congregation of the Holy Ghost. These veteran missionaries in Africa are developing the missions in a way to fill the heart with the most hopeful expectations. The magnificent plantations and extensive grazing grounds which are cared for by the pupils of the mission schools accustom those backward and indolent tribes to intelligent labor; their excellent workshops, which train the natives in a great variety of trades and while affording time and occasion for religious instruction, provide for the future material wellbeing, have been justly praised

even by non-Catholic Europeans. In these seven districts there are fifty thousand converts, catechumens counted by the thousand, and ten thousand children receiving a Catholic education.

Not less promising is Belgian Congo, a very vast territory with a population of fifteen millions. In 1885, after Stanley's famous explorations, the Congo State was placed under the sovereignty of the King of the Belgians. A few years earlier, the White Fathers had penetrated thither, but later they confined themselves to the Vicariate of Upper Congo, the rest of the territory being occupied by missionaries of Scheut, Belgium, Jesuits, Priests of the Sacred Heart, Norbertines, Redemptorists, the Congregation of the Holy Ghost, Trappists, Franciscans, and Missionaries of Mill Hill. The whole number of these missionaries is two hundred and eighty-one. There are besides 108 nuns who have twenty-six hospitals and conduct schools for girls. The native Catholics of Belgian Congo number over sixty thousand; the catechumens are between eighty and ninety thousand.

The part of Africa which presents to us a truly sad aspect is that between the Cape of Good Hope and the Cunene and Zambesi Rivers. With the exception of the Zambesi mission, entrusted to the Jesuits, which claimed thirty-seven victims during the first twenty years of its existence, the climate is not surpassed in salubrity by any in Africa. Protestantism, introduced chiefly by the English of Cape Colony and the Boers, has been able to make great progress among the negroes, while the Catholics, partly because their free action was restrained in some places, partly through lack of means, and partly also because they did not give due attention to this district, are in an insignificant minority. Catholic negroes

number 30,000 against half a million Protestant negroes. It is true that the Protestantism of many of these negroes is very superficial; but that does not prevent them from being a formidable obstacle to Catholic mission work, and all the more so because they are the principal representatives of what is called the "Ethiopic Agitation." Although this agitation has not thus far been able to penetrate among the Catholic negroes, its ideals and the activity of its propagation make it highly dangerous for the indigenes of South and Central Africa. The Ethiopic Agitation, or what might be called the "Negro Party," is the fruit chiefly of the violent harangues of negro Methodist immigrants from the United States, and its object is to unite the blacks against the whites. A large part of the Protestant negroes of South Africa and not a few who have accepted no form of Christianity have espoused the movement. Although the agitation has been checked a little in these days by the want of funds and by the energy of the British Government, there is still danger that it will cause serious political upheavals with consequent grave damage to mission work. In the midst of so many evils the change wrought in the Boers during the war with Great Britain is a consoling sign. As Calvinists, they had been very intolerant towards Catholics, but the sight of the charity and spirit of sacrifice shown during the late war by the Oblates of Mary Immaculate and by the Sisters of the Holy Family gave their views a very different turn. To-day both the priests and the nuns are highly esteemed by the Boers, of whom several hundred have already embraced Catholicism. Doubtless the conversions would be more numerous if the personnel of the mission were less small.

Off the coast from the Portuguese possessions of

southern Africa lies the island of Madagascar, with a population of three millions, where missions have had a checkered career. After fruitless attempts in former centuries, and equally vain efforts between 1830 and 1861, our missionaries finally succeeded in establishing themselves there, in the person of French Jesuits, who had their share of success in spite of the hindrances put in their way by Protestantism, which was at the time the religion of State in Madagascar. By 1882, the mission numbered 80,000 souls, including converts and catechumens. To-day, after having ceded the northern district to the Congregation of the Holy Ghost and the southern to the Lazarists, the Jesuit mission has 174,533 Catholics and 258,000 catechumens, and 1,253 schools with 62,961 pupils. In the vicariate which the mission constitutes there are two bishops, 183 priests, 72 lay brothers, 94 nuns, and 1,604 school teachers. The missionaries reside in certain central stations, whence they go forth to preach the word and to give special instructions to the catechumens and children preparing for first Communion. At the head of each minor station is placed a catechist who teaches the children, leads in the prayers recited in common, and forms with some of the principal personages a sort of patriarchal council for the village. The catechists, who are commonly schoolmasters as well, are trained with great care by the missionaries. As a help towards keeping up the spirit of their training, they pay a monthly visit to the nearest central station, usually on the First Friday, receive the sacraments, and consult with the Fathers. Once a year, they make the spiritual exercises of St. Ignatius.

Returning from Madagascar to the eastern coast of Africa, the principal missions that we find are the

Vicariates of Central and Northern Zanzibar, which are fields for the zeal of the Congregation of the Holy Ghost. They count 17,000 Catholics, 7,200 catechumens, and 7,500 children in their schools.

We shall next survey the African missions established by the White Fathers in the interior of Africa on the banks of the great lakes, Victoria-Nyanza, Tanganyika and Nyassa. These fire-tried missionaries began the enterprise in 1878, in the midst of great hardships, for at that time the journey from civilization to that region took entire months. Persecution and exile by the Kings of Uganda stifled their zeal as little as did the obstacles of all kinds put in their way by the Protestants and Mohammedans. Another test has been added these late years, the sleeping sickness, which has depopulated whole districts in central Africa; but not even this formidable foe has been able to do more than manifest more clearly the inexhaustible charity of the missionaries. The White Fathers have six vicariates, in all of which their labors yield the hundredfold. Altogether, they have nine African missions, counting in Algiers, the Sahara and Western Soudan. Under their care are 127,178 Catholics, 197,632 catechumens, 245 hospitals and asylums, 840 schools with 22,052 boys and 10,074 girls, 440 priests, 190 sisters, and 1,495 catechists.

The flourishing Vicariate of the Upper Nile in charge of the Mill Hill Fathers also belongs to Uganda. It has 18,847 Catholics and 13,707 catechumens.

There are now engaged on the African missions 1,842 priests, 1,357 lay brothers, 3,668 nuns, and a larger number of catechists. There are 800,000 converts and 500,000 catechumens. The most consoling feature is that during the last few years these missions have developed

astonishingly and promise even greater results in the future. Nevertheless, we are bound to admit that side by side with the Catholic missions, the Protestant missions are also advancing rapidly. The considerations that seem to comfort some Catholics, namely that Protestantism often makes only a surface impression on the heathen who accept it, that it is easier and more convenient to be a Protestant than a Catholic, etc., are very true and may be properly employed in controversy with Protestants; but they should not lull into listlessness any true Catholic, who should bend all his energies to secure the triumph of Catholic missions in Africa as well as everywhere else.

In Africa a great battle is on between Catholicism and Protestantism. It has been asserted that within fifty years all Africa not Mohammedan will be almost wholly Christian. But which will prevail, Catholicism or Protestantism, is at this day uncertain. The Catholic missionaries are incomparably superior to the Protestants in zeal and the spirit of sacrifice, but they are poor and often in want of churches, schools and catechists. On the other hand, the Protestants have abundant means and can employ all methods of propaganda, schools, catechists, physicians, and so forth. God grant that those Catholic nations which have not thus far entered heartily into the work of the missions may decide the question in favor of the faith.

HILARIÓN GIL.

—*Razón y Fe*, November, 1909.

Catholic Missions

II.

MISSIONS IN SOUTHERN ASIA.

India and the neighboring island of Ceylon are among the most important mission fields of the Church. With an area of 1,882,100 square miles they have a population of three hundred millions made up of a greater variety of races and nations than can be found in Europe, but nearly all united exteriorly in direct or indirect subjection to Great Britain. The prevailing religion is Brahminism, with two hundred million members, after which comes Mohammedanism, which claims more than sixty-two millions. Precisely here arises the chief difficulty of the Indian missions, for if the Mohammedans are the most difficult to convert, the followers of Brahma are a close second to them in prejudice. This is due chiefly to castes in comparison with which neither the climate, which is in general oppressively warm for Europeans, nor the great famines and pestilences which decimate the population, nor the tigers and venomous serpents which claim annually so many thousands of victims, can be called serious difficulties for the missionary.

To become a Christian is commonly equivalent to loss of caste, and caste is dearer to the Brahmin than country and home to us. A man who has lost caste is a hundred times worse off than a slave; he is a filthy reptile upon whom all have a right to trample; his very breath is enough to contaminate and defile the proud Brahmin. For this very reason our missionaries merit great praise

for having advanced so constantly and so successfully during the nineteenth century in the evangelization of this country in which the Church had suffered perhaps more than in any other during the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth, and on account of the senseless agitation and schismatical turbulence of the Goanese clergy had continued to suffer until the Concordat of 1886 of Leo XIII with the Portuguese crown. We must admit that the progress is slow, but it is steady and this in spite of the scanty resources of the missionaries. We must take into consideration, too, that India is now in the throes of a transformation which is less speedy than in China, but which affects the very foundations of the social fabric.

European culture, with all its vices and all its virtues is filtering through the whole population; the educated pariah is now very far from withdrawing to a distance of seventy or ninety paces from the highway lest his breath should defile some high-plumed Brahmin, who perhaps is under his authority in a Government office. Hence, more than ever before, these missions are to be strengthened, for if the ground shall have been duly prepared, the day which sees the fall of the barrier of caste will witness an abundant harvest of conversions as the result of the labor of years. But let us view in detail some of the principal missions:

CEYLON.

South of India and in close proximity to the mainland lies the beautiful island of Ceylon, with an area of 25,300 square miles, and about four million inhabitants, of whom one-half are fiercely fanatical Buddhists. Es-

pecially at the time of the Russo-Japanese war Catholics had to suffer not a little from them, for they saw in the triumph of the Japanese a victory of Buddhism over Christianity. Still, our missions are fruitful and full of promise.

The island is divided into five mission districts. Colombo and Jaffna, which are the most important, are confided to the Oblates of Mary Immaculate; Kandy is in charge of the Benedictines; the French Jesuits have Trincomali and the Belgian Jesuits occupy Galle. Catholics who numbered 200,000 in 1885, now reach 300,000; then there were under 20,000 children in Catholic schools and now there are over 50,000. Colleges and hospitals show an equally gratifying increase in numbers, while the priests who were twenty-six in 1830, now number two hundred. Moreover, since 1902 there has been an annual Catholic Congress for the discussion of religious and social questions. The Catholic Union of Ceylon is a permanent organization concerned with the former questions, and the Catholic Club with the latter. Among the Catholics of Ceylon there is a strong religious spirit upon which considerable influence is exercised by the celebrated sanctuary of Our Lady of Maddu, where 25,000 pilgrims assemble annually on the feast of the Assumption.

We ought not to leave Ceylon without mentioning the Pontifical Seminary of Kandy, founded by Pope Leo XIII in 1894 and entrusted to the Belgian Jesuits. The Pope's intention was to found a model seminary which could compete with the best in Europe and should be, moreover, a central establishment for those dioceses of British India having no seminary of their own. Great were the misgivings about its success when it was opened,

for its classes were to be attended by the most diverse races and castes; but the happy outcome has shown that the Pope was fully justified in building on it the greatest expectations for the religious future of India. According to the testimony of the well-known Father Van der Aa, the seminary of Kandy has nothing in the piety or the studies of its students to make it envious of the best European seminaries.

MADURA.

In the southeastern extremity of India is found the celebrated mission of Madura, one of the most flourishing in the peninsula. When the French Jesuits undertook it in 1836 they found it in a state of indescribable spiritual destitution, which was made even worse by the intrigues of the Goanese priests. But their constancy triumphed over every hindrance. Little by little they built churches, schools and hospitals, enkindled anew the religious fervor of the demoralized Catholics, and brought converts into the fold. The mission now has a staff of one bishop, 79 French Jesuits, 27 native Jesuits, and 18 native secular priests. In 1909, there were 5,681 baptisms of adult pagans and their children and 149 conversions from heresy. The principal institution of the mission of Madura is the University College of St. Joseph at Trichinopoly, affiliated to the University of Madras. This bulwark of the Faith in British India has 1,755 students, there being 662 Catholics, 15 Protestants, 990 pagans and 88 Mohammedans. Thanks to the college, the Catholics who are, generally speaking, of the poorer classes, have been able in very many cases to give an excellent education to their sons and thus qualify them for the influential positions which they now hold in so-

ciety. Moreover, upwards of one hundred priests and religious have come from the college classes. Finally the good done among the pagan students, who belong almost exclusively to the Brahmin caste, has been very notable; for not only do they leave college with a favorable opinion of Catholicism, thus paving the way for future conversions, but conversions have already begun, very slowly, it is true, but auguring well for the future. This was not ignored nor lost sight of by the Brahmins themselves, who raised a tremendous hubbub in 1891, when conversions from the caste first began, and up to the present time they persecute the converts with diabolical fury. Among the Catholics of India, a joyous shout was raised when they saw that the Church had made a breach in the haughty Brahmin caste which had stood so long as an insurmountable barrier to the Faith.

It is a debatable question whether the salvation of India is to come through the Brahmins, proud indeed, but possessed of superior mental, moral and even physical qualities, or through the pariahs and inferior castes, who, by rising from the depths in which they find themselves, may break down by their numerical superiority the tyranny of the higher castes. What cannot be doubted is that the fervor of those converted Brahmins, who, though poor and persecuted, remain heroically faithful to our holy religion, who hear Mass daily and mingle freely with pariahs and sudras at the altar rail, is a sign full of consolation and hope for the missions of India.

PONDICHERRY.

North of Madura on the Coromandel coast are four missions in charge of the Priests of the Foreign Missions of Paris, where we find the Archbishop of Pondi-

cherry with three suffragans. In 1873 a period of wonderful prosperity began for these missions which speedily mustered over 76,000 Catholics. At present conversions are few, due to the paucity of missionaries and meagre resources, yet the faithful number 313,898 with 273 priests, of whom 59 are natives. Among the institutions of secondary instruction in these missions, particular mention should be made of the College of Pondicherry with 1,100 students.

THE MALABAR MISSIONS.

On the southwest coast of India from Cape Comorin up a little above Goa, extends a series of missions which count about one million Catholics. About one-third of them belong to the three vicariates ruled by native clergy of the Syro-Malabar rite. Since 1896, when Pope Leo XIII placed native bishops over these three vicariates, the number of churches has undergone a notable increase, nor have conversions been lacking, especially in the vicariate of Changanacherry, where they average about a thousand a year. There are also flourishing schools attended by upwards of 40,000 children. But it must be admitted that the Syro-Malabar clergy are pretty far from having the zeal of the European missionaries or the native priests of other missions, a defect due chiefly to the disturbances which agitated this district for a good part of the nineteenth century, and to the indifferent formation which the Malabar monks gave to the secular priests. Much more may now be expected from these three vicariates, for the troubles have died out and the seminaries are on a much better footing. Moreover, there are present two elements which shine by their ab-

sence in nearly all the other missions, namely, missionaries and funds, for there are 423 priests and the Malabar Catholics are well provided with this world's goods.

THE CARMELITES IN INDIA.

In the same states of Travancore and Cochin, where the Malabar vicariates are found, is the mission of the Carmelites, consisting of the Archdiocese of Verapoly and the Diocese of Quilon. Until 1887, the Malabar Catholics were under the direction of these zealous religious, to whom they owe in great part that they forsook schism and returned to the unity of the Church. The Carmelites are in charge of 200,000 Catholics. In their schools they instruct 17,955 children and have 2,787 boys and young men in their colleges. The priests number 143, of whom 108 are natives. Several hundred conversions are effected yearly, but the natives are so favorably disposed towards the Faith that were missionaries and means to be had, say the friars, the number would reach many thousands.

GOANESE APATHY.

Along the Malabar coast we also find the Diocese of Cochin, a suffragan of Goa. Between this diocese and the Patriarchate of Goa there are about 425,000 Catholics, and some seven hundred priests, the immense majority being natives. But very little activity is displayed in converting unbelievers. The condition of the Catholics is now somewhat more hopeful, for, after having been long mixed up, through the fault of their pastors and the Portuguese Government, in disagreements with Rome

and even in schism, they have been able, since 1886, to take the first steps towards efficacious work among the heathen by promoting their own spiritual regeneration under the guidance of the excellent Patriarch Antonio Sebastian Valente. What is said of Goa is applicable to its suffragan sees of Damao to the north, and Meliapore on the eastern coast, which have between them 146,000 Catholics and 158 priests, chiefly native.

MANGALORE.

This diocese deserves at least a brief notice. It lies south of Goa and is in the hands of Venetian Jesuits. When they took over the district in 1878 they found it in a state of great spiritual destitution, but they have built it up from a neglected community of 53,000 to a prosperous mission of 93,000. Their University College of St. Aloysius at Mangalore is one of the most famous in India. There are only 42 Jesuits and 57 native secular priests, so there are few to take up actively the work of conversion.

CENTRAL AND NORTHERN INDIA.

With the exception of Calcutta the missions in these districts do not call for particular mention, for the number of missionaries and converts is very small. On the other hand, the stretch of territory is immense and the native population enormous, which places this mission field among the most needy. By way of example, we will mention the five missions in the north confided to Italian, Austrian, French and Belgian Capuchins, which have a population of one hundred millions with only

one hundred and twenty-nine missionaries. Still this modest number shows improvement on the past, for in 1840 there were only six priests. More missionaries are urgently required in this little-cultivated part of the vineyard, especially because Protestant agents abound and they are well supplied with funds. The Catholics number 32,000.

A decided movement towards the Church has begun of late in the Archdiocese of Agra. The Rajah of Tajpur who had embraced Protestantism began to discuss religion with Father Romulus, an Italian Capuchin, while on a voyage from Europe to India. The result was the rajah's conversion to Catholicism. The prince hears Mass and communicates daily in the handsome church which he has built at Tajpur. Lively hopes are entertained that his example will produce its proper effect upon the 50,000 heathen who acknowledge his sway. Another hope of the missions of northern India is the magnificent University College of St. Francis Xavier, directed by the German Jesuits at Bombay. It has 1,700 students.

CALCUTTA.

At the present time the most fruitful mission of India is that of Calcutta, which belongs to the Belgian Jesuits. In 1862 they found 7,000 Catholics. So great was the religious decadence that a few years earlier 3,000 Catholics had slumped into Protestantism. The first labor of the missionaries was directed towards renewing the religious spirit of the Catholics, raising the standing and strengthening the influence of Catholicism, and building churches; next they opened in Calcutta the beautiful University College of St. Francis Xavier, which now has

900 students on the roll. Then began mission work properly so called. The district of Chota Nagpur, so famous at a later date, was first visited by Catholic missionaries in 1869, while the Protestants had entered that field in 1844. During the first years the labors of the priests seemed well-nigh fruitless, but later on conversions became less unfrequent so that by 1885 the neophytes numbered about 3,000. Then appeared the apostle of Chota Nagpur, Father Lievens. First he made a profound study of the local laws with the object of delivering the wretched, field-laborers belonging to the Kols, one of the primitive races of India, from the intolerable oppression which they suffered at the hands of the powerful landowners and leaseholders. Those miserable drudges, who had until then no escape from thralldom but emigration, found in Father Lievens a capable and devoted defender who was not dismayed at the plots and threats of the mighty. Add to this his untiring zeal and unbounded charity, and it is no wonder that whole villages asked for baptism and the number of Catholics rose in seven years to 50,000.

The death of Father Lievens, in the flower of his age, the victim of the numberless hardships which he had undergone, brought a few years of trial to the mission, for the oppressors of the Kols on one hand and the Protestants on the other, redoubled their efforts to put an end to it; but those who took up his work succeeded in countervailing the attacks of their adversaries and even in adding to the number of converts and catechumens. Such was the state of affairs when lo, in 1907, at a time when it was least expected, a new period of conversions in a body began in the independent State of Jushpur, whither no missionary had penetrated.

Some neophytes of Chota Nagpur who had gone to work in Jushpur so successfully urged their tribal kinsmen, the Kols of that state, to become Catholics, that 50,000 crowded toward the fold of the Good Shepherd. Entire villages with music and banners and every demonstration of joy sallied forth in glad array to welcome the coming missionary whom they had never seen and to entreat him to send them catechists. The consequences of this movement may be very great, for it may easily spread to the entire tribe which numbers about three millions. These indigenes, among whom no distinction of caste exists, not only make good Catholics but in time may be confidently expected to furnish excellent priests.

Only the scarcity of missionaries prevents work among the Santals, a primitive tribe devoted to agriculture, the pastoral inhabitants of British Sikkim, north of the mission, and the people of Orissa on the south. In all these places the time is ripe, but there are no missionaries for these twenty million inhabitants. In the mission of Calcutta there are now 101,008 Catholics, 79,549 catechumens, 103 Belgian priests and two natives. There are about 10,000 children in Catholic schools and the noteworthy number of over 500 catechists. During 1908, besides the thousands of heathen, 1,500 Protestants were received into the Church.

If we consider India as a whole, we see that besides the extrinsic drawbacks, the chief of which is the question of caste, there are intrinsic difficulties which retard the development of this most important mission field. Of these latter the chief is the paucity of missionaries which exists in many places where the increased number of Catholics makes such demands upon the priests that they can hardly give themselves to spreading the Faith.

Hence, the small number of catechumens, except in the mission of Calcutta, which has more than half the number returned for all India.

Yet, in spite of all this, it is very consoling to see that during the past hundred years there has been steady progress. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, there were a little over 500,000 Catholics; they now number over 2,300,000. In other words this number has increased four-fold. There are 1,000 European priests, 1,600 native priests, 500 lay brothers, and 3,000 nuns about evenly divided between Europeans and natives. There are upwards of 180,000 children in the primary schools, and 30,000 in high schools and colleges.

INDO-CHINA.

This district which was formerly known as Farther India, has an area of 880,000 square miles. As its modern name indicates, it is under Indian and Chinese influence. In the western part, that is, in the British possessions and Siam, the Indian note prevails, while in the eastern part, or French Indo-China, the Chinese element predominates. The missions in the western part are still rather undeveloped, for they number altogether only 130,000 Catholics, a truly small figure in a population of twenty millions. But we are to remember that sixty years ago the Catholic population amounted to only 10,000. The labors of the missionaries have been particularly fruitful among the Carenni, a backward tribe, but with very good qualities, which inhabits the forests of Burma. But the soundest factor of the population, in which the word of the missioner falls on land made ready for it, are the Chinese settlers, of whom 12,000 in the

Diocese of Malacca have embraced the Faith and give the strongest proofs of their steadfastness and fervor. The missionaries, who number 225, are for the greater part Priests of the Foreign Missions of Paris. There are 20,000 children in Catholic schools.

In French Indo-China, whose population of twenty millions is very largely Buddhist in belief, we have what may well be called the church of the martyrs, namely, the church of Annam, which reproduced in the nineteenth century the heroic example of the Japanese martyrs and of the faithful of the first centuries. In the time of the Emperor Minh Menh (1820-1841) there were numerous martyrs for the Faith, among them being the Vicar Apostolic Clement Ignatius Delgado, his coadjutor Dominic Herreras, the Provincial Joseph Fernandez, and seven others, all Dominicans. They were beatified in 1900. But who can describe the fury of the persecution which was stirred up by the bloody-minded Tu Duc, who had resolved, as he declared, "to pull up by the roots the poisonous plant of Christianity?"

Although the blood of martyrs began to flow afresh in 1848, several Spanish Dominicans and native priests held a synod in central Tongking in 1855, at which 20,000 of the faithful assembled. But from 1856 to 1862 the persecution raged with greater violence than ever. Twenty-eight Dominicans and 100 native priests were put to death and 100 Catholic villages were reduced to ashes. Ten thousand of the more prominent Catholics were imprisoned, and more than half of them died for the Faith in the midst of all kinds of torments. Some were beheaded, others were drowned, others were starved to death, others were crushed under the feet of elephants and others were buried alive or burned at the stake. The

surviving Catholics were despoiled of their property, which was given to the pagans; 2,000 centres of the Faith were wiped out of existence and 40,000 of the faithful perished from suffering and ill treatment in the general dispersion. Yet, in 1871, when the persecution seemed to be over, 40,000 believers gathered at Tongking to celebrate the festival of Easter.

In 1874, however, in another outbreak of fanaticism, 129 villages were burned to the ground and 2,000 Catholics sealed their testimony to the Faith by laying down their lives. In 1883, and again in 1884, the storm of persecution broke, but it reached its most savage excesses in 1885. Churches, convents, hospitals, whole villages were consumed by fire; the faithful escaping from the flames or the rifle ball had their flesh torn off with pincers, were cut in two or hacked to pieces or buried alive. Many priests and catechists, over 200 nuns and about 40,000 of the faithful received the crown of martyrdom.

A Church which came forth triumphant from such dire tests of constancy could not be without the blessings of heaven. Indeed the number of Catholics in French Indo-China, which was about 400,000 before the persecution, is now fully 930,000. Two-thirds of them are ministered to by the Priests of the Foreign Missions of Paris in eight vicariates. The others are in three vicariates entrusted to the Spanish Dominicans. A highly satisfactory feature of these missions is the relatively large number of native priests, 603 in a personnel of 1,025. The great value of a native priesthood is demonstrated in times of persecution. There are 1,500 seminarists, over 2,800 nuns and 1,556 catechists. The schools teach 70,000 children. The Church in French

Indo-China may suffer new tribulations from the French colonial authorities; she may suffer from political disturbances, for the suicidal policy of the French Government in favoring paganism rather than Catholicism seems to foretell a colonial disaster; but in spite of all, she can look into the future with confidence, for her thousands of martyrs will not fail to protect her, and her Catholic priests and people are worthy of their ancestors.

HILARIÓN GIL,

In *Razón y Fe* for January, 1910.



Catholic Missions

III.

JAPAN

Japan is the first nation with a culture of its own that has tried to adopt Western civilization, not merely in part as the Hindoos, but in all that the word civilization implies. What Europe took centuries to develop, this youthful prodigy among nations has undertaken to assimilate within the space of thirty years. Japan for some time has had her constitutional form of government, her parliament, her code of laws developed along European lines; her schools, from kindergarten to university; she has her factories and industrial works, her laboratories and looms, her banks and trust companies, her army and navy, her press and political parties, etc., in all respects similar to our European institutions.

All of which goes to show that a talented race finds no difficulty in appropriating at least the external products of a superior civilization. The essence of European culture, however, the deeper reason for its ascendancy, must be sought in its intellectual treasures, in its moral code, in a word in Christianity, which prepared the mind and soul, the real soil whence sprang the civilization of Europe.

This fact has received little or no attention from the makers of modern Japan. Misled by appearances they began with the fatal mistake of regarding the modern

Zeitgeist, in all its infidelity and liberalism, and divorced as it is from God and Church, as the highest expression of European civilization. "Japanese professors," says a writer in "*Katholische Missionen*," "especially teachers of philosophy and the natural sciences (and the same might be said of all prominent Japanese statesmen, journalists, etc.), have received most, if not all, of their training in foreign countries, in America, in England, and especially in Germany. Here they scarcely came into contact with Christianity save under the false presentment of our modern lecture halls, in the troubled mirror of free academic life, and in the disedifying picture of life in our great Neopagan cities. What the strenuous young Japanese came to Europe and America in search of was not Christianity but European sciences.

* * *

"The majority take home the mistaken idea that in Europe Christianity is merely a theory that has long since been exploded. Spinoza, Kant, Hegel, Edward von Hartmann, Lotze, Feuerbach, Nietzsche, Haeckel, Comte, Mill, Spencer, Huxley and other coryphees of modern thought are the masters by whom they swear, who are made accessible and diffused through translations and adaptations, and whose teachings blended with the dreams of Buddhist philosophy are set before youths in the academies as the highest wisdom."

Thus modern unbelief in its most undisguised form broke like a deluge over Japan, and was diffused through the length and breadth of the land by means of the powerful agency of the press, as through a thousand channels. "In Japan," writes one of her "enlightened" spokesmen, with perhaps some exaggeration, "those who have preserved any spirit of reverence for religious things are

few indeed. We have almost reached the goal towards which the modern intellectual movement is leading humanity."

This decline of religion, especially among the educated population of the cities, received a powerful impetus from the strongly materialistic trait of the civilization, which followed as a natural result of the undue stress laid on external progress. The Government itself, however, contributed most powerfully to the spread of unbelief through the enactment of the new school legislation. According to this the school must be without religion, and above all God must not be mentioned therein.

In place of religion the emperor has prescribed for all schools a moral code according to the natural law, recommending filial obedience, conjugal love, friendship, good citizenship, diligence and energy, but above all patriotism and an unbounded reverence for the emperor who, according to the Shinto conception, as the highest object of veneration and the highest tribunal of justice takes the place of God. For the explanation of this imperial moral code two hours a week are set aside in the primary schools and one in the other schools.

This colorless ethical system, void of all supernatural sanction, when assisted by the traditional national virtues of the Japanese, was expected to take the place of a positive religion. As the law excluding religion from the curriculum of the schools applied equally to all free schools recognized by the State, the Christian Mission was deprived of its most effective means of propaganda. And since the law compels Christian youth to attend the atheistic public schools, the missions must devise methods of counteracting such pernicious influence outside the school room. "As conditions are now," wrote Bishop

Cousin of Nagasaki not long since, "the population must submit their faith to the ordeal by fire. The laicized and atheistic compulsory school, and the new spirit proceeding thence and permeating everything, allows nothing to escape. This imposes on missionaries the urgent duty of grounding the younger generation in their religion as early as possible, lest later they stand helpless before hopeless ruins."

Lamentable results of this increasing want of religion are already seen in decadence of morality, licentiousness, incorrigibility, rebellion, especially among youth, the number of appalling crimes, the shocking growth of the suicidal mania, civic corruption, and not least, the threatening danger of anarchy and revolutionary movements. The Russo-Japanese war, rousing as it did the old Japanese patriotism and heroism, with its brilliant victories helped the Japanese statesmen successfully to tide over the internal crisis, and concealed for a time the true state of affairs.

Soon, however, the mental unrest became more pronounced than ever, greatly augmented by the terrible economic depression resulting from the glorious but profitless war, with its gigantic national debt and increased rate of taxation. Gradually there spread far and wide the realization of the fact that the new civilization lacked a firm foundation, and that this could be supplied by religion alone. To-day this is discussed openly by leading statesmen, the more serious periodicals, and it is even admitted by prominent university teachers.

"They err greatly in Japan," Sawayamagi Seitaro, former minister of public instruction, writes from London, "if they think that religion no longer plays any part

in European life: on the contrary, it is a power in European social life and one of its most important factors. For my part, I am deeply convinced of the signal influence exercised by religion in the preservation of morality. What have we in Japan to fill such a function?"

A religion Japan must have; on this point all sensible men agree. But which shall it be? In her intellectual and moral renovation, is she to await a recrudescence of the old national religions? The great outburst of patriotism during the late war restored the old religions to honor for a time, and the people ascribed their success to the superiority of the national divinities over the God of the Christians.

As a matter of fact the ancient cults have still a strong hold on the nation. A tree that has for a thousand years been so deeply implanted in the life of the people is not easily uprooted. There are still standing, for the most part in the most enchanting spots, thousands and tens of thousands of Buddhist and Shintoist temples and chapels, Bonze monasteries and shrines resplendent in the gleaming gold and colors of ancient Japanese art, where millions of pious pilgrims and devout worshippers assemble. Births and deaths, marriages and victories, in fact all the more important events of life are interwoven with ceremonies of the ancient cults, which have not lost, at least among the common people, especially in the country, any of their old charm(1). Let us see if the same holds true of the Japanese who has been trained in the modern school of free thought. "The Buddhist re-

(1) According to the report of Father E., a Marist of Tokyo, Shintoism has 18,800,000 adherents, 163,861 temples and 16,093 priests; Buddhism, 28,000,000 followers, 79,992 temples, and 52,106 priests and Bonzes.

ligion," writes one of the latter, "is a chimera and not to be reconciled with the demands of religion. It may bring peace to many souls, but it does not deserve to-day the name of a real religion."

Buddhists, it is true, are making strenuous efforts to bring their religion up to date, garnishing the elastic teachings of Buddha with modern philosophy, and after the example of European scholars, blending them with those of Christianity. The Bonzes flock to the universities in constantly increasing numbers, they study Christian works, give discourses on God, the proofs of His existence, on maxims of Christian morality, diligently copy the methods and institutions of Christian missionaries, establish associations, publish periodicals, distribute tracts, give lectures, illustrated with magic lantern views, and so forth. Only recently a Catholic missionary gave testimony to the earnest endeavors that are constantly being made to restore the ancient heathen cults to public honor.

The missionary thinks that history is repeating itself, in that conditions in Japan parallel those at the time of the decline of the Roman Paganism, which grudgingly surrendered its polytheistic teachings bit by bit in order to copy Christianity and thus prepare the way for the ultimate triumph of the religion of Jesus Christ.

Some time since, the Buddhist journal, *Shinkoron*, instituted an inquiry among a number of prominent men, scholars and those high in public office, as to what the religion of Japan would be a hundred years hence. The majority agreed that Christianity would ultimately win the victory, though with all sorts of restrictions and reservations.

It is Protestant not Catholic Christianity that they have

in mind. The latter is the only form of Christianity of which most of these gentlemen have any definite conception. They know Catholicity, if at all, only under the false and unfavorable light in which it is presented by an infidel and irreligious press, and historical literature. It is the caricature of the Roman Church which Protestantism has drawn.

As a matter of fact, Protestantism found very favorable conditions in Japan. It was the religion of those nations which Japan had chosen in a particular manner for her teachers and models, which through their political power and national greatness made the deepest impression on the Japanese, and beside which the Catholic nations appeared "decadent peoples." Again, Protestant missionaries spoke English, the language, in which the Japanese were accustomed to carry on their intercourse with foreign lands and through which they were brought into contact with Western culture.

These missionaries carried with them all the prestige of their nations; the practical genius, the business routine, the spontaneity, and the energy of the Anglo-Saxon race. Thus they rendered efficient, valuable, and hence, welcome assistance to the Japanese in building up the new civilization. What they effected in connection with schools, sanitation, the press and many phases of practical social work, deserves recognition and has ensured them an influential position which has been further strengthened by those popular methods of advertising peculiar to the Americans.

The statistics given by the "Christian Movement" show that among the 380 deputies at present in the Lower House there are already fourteen Christians, that is to say Protestants (7 Presbyterians, 5 Congregation-

alists and 2 Methodists), a witness to the growing public influence of Protestantism in the country.

Still, one cannot help realizing that the result for Christianity is not gratifying. The work of promoting civilization, colored with Christianity is not precisely an Apostolic work. Properly speaking, the task of the Christian Mission is to spread among the people a knowledge of the true and unadulterated teaching of Christ ("Teach them all that I have commanded you"), to impart the supernatural treasures of Divine grace. Considered from this point of view, and measured according to this standard, the strong influence of Protestantism can scarcely be regarded in the light of a blessing for the Japanese people.

An apt pupil, the Japanese Protestant favors the principle of free inquiry to a degree which may well cause his teachers concern. "We have now had enough experience," declares a Protestant Japanese pastor and editor of the theological magazine, *Rikeugo Zasshi*, "to sift our kernels from the European and American grain and choose those which seem to us good and useful." They no longer need any foreign teacher, and the time is ripe "when steps can be taken for the establishment and development of a Japanese Christianity. . . . We wish, therefore, a theology which will be in all its essentials purely Japanese, and likewise religious forms and ceremonies which will bear a distinctly Japanese stamp. But this should not prevent us from profiting by the experience of the West." To Japan, thinks this pastor, belongs the mission of reforming Christianity and evolving out of it the real "world religion."

Side by side with the Protestant sects in Japan, the Russian Orthodox Church has been working since 1858.

Under the skilled and prudent guidance of her leader, Bishop Nicholas, she achieved for a time significant results, but to-day has little prospect of becoming a factor of any importance in national life.

It was necessary to give at least a slight résumé of conditions, to explain and place in its proper setting what remains to be said of the Catholic mission. As we have seen, Catholicity is no longer alone in the field, as it was at the time of its introduction by St. Francis Xavier. To-day it has to contend not only with the ancient heathenism, but with the more bitter foe of modern free thought and with about thirty different schismatic Protestant missions which in many respects are much more favorably situated.

With the strong preponderance of Anglo-Saxon and German population and languages in Japan, it was doubtless a disadvantage that the Catholic mission should be exclusively in the hands of the French priests, whose native land had but little influence in the empire of the Mikado, and whose language, compared with English or even German, is familiar to but few.

The resources of the mission seminary in Paris were and still are inadequate for its gigantic field of work in Asia (thirty-two dioceses to-day); thus it was that Japanese missionaries numbered in 1870 only 14; in 1880, 30; 1891, 86 European, and 15 native priests; in 1908, 119 European and 33 Japanese priests, who were divided among four dioceses.

The French missionaries, it is true, brought with them the ardent zeal for souls, the heroic spirit of self abnegation, and the admirable priestly lives so characteristic throughout the apostles of this nation, but in practical worldly experience, business routine, they were hardly

a match for the American and English preachers. What the Society of Foreign Missions most lacked was the resources for taking up the struggle through the press or in the field of education and science. All this gave the Protestant missions a powerful advantage along these lines. The Catholic missionaries, however, have not been, on the whole, unsuccessful. Up to 1870 their quiet unselfish work, for the most part among the poorer population, had brought into the Church 10,000 believers, who had increased to 23,984 by 1880; by 1891, at the time of the erection of the Japanese hierarchy, 44,505; in 1899, 54,366; 1908, 62,694. These figures show an average yearly increase through births and conversions of 1,200 souls. The number has never been clearly stated of crypto Catholics who have for two hundred years lived a life apart without priests or Sacraments other than baptism, and yet have preserved the Faith. Unfortunately a great number of these Christians have held themselves aloof from the present missionaries and led a peculiar life apart.

Two conditions, however, modify the effect of these otherwise gratifying figures. Two-thirds of these Japanese Catholics live in the southern extremity of the island (Diocese of Nagasaki) while in all the rest of Japan their numbers are disappointingly small; in 1908 in the archdiocese of Tokio there were only 8,625; Hako-date, 4,427; Osaka only 3,711, and in Schikoku only 300 Catholics. The gains are most encouraging, it is true, but the recruits have been made, as has been said, from the poor and uneducated classes of the people. It is only lately that the Catholic mission has made any important conquests among the educated and in the higher aristocratic, learned and military circles.

At first, unfortunately, the mission could not expand territorially for lack of working forces; to-day in the whole of Japan with its numberless cities, villages and hamlets there are only 215 stations, ninety-five of which are in the south, and these are swallowed up like small islands in the great ocean.

"The principal reason why the success of the Catholic missions in this country is not greater," writes the Steyl missionary Father John Weig, "seems to me to lie in the fact that until recently the missionaries (with the exception of those of Nagasaki) have confined their activities almost entirely to the towns; the low country is a practically uncultivated field, and yet I should think the plain country people would be much more susceptible to religious instruction than the city population."

However, what has been said is true to an even greater degree of Protestant mission. According to Haas(1), the foreign workers reside only in 67 different places; "23 per cent. of all the missionaries and 17 per cent. of all Japanese assistants are stationed in the capital, Tokio."

The weakest point of the Catholic missions was until recently the want of schools, which should play the principal part in the spiritual reform of the country. Until late in the eighties there were no Catholic advanced institutions of learning for boys. A few boarding schools for girls and some sixty small elementary schools were all there were to counterbalance the numerous state and Protestant schools and institutions. In 1887 the Marists were at last called to the rescue, a French educational congregation of brothers with a strong American element. Their colleges, however, could grow but slowly

(1) "Japan's Zukunfts religion," Berlin, 1907, 116.

as private Catholic institutions. It was only after they applied for state recognition according to the new school law of 1899, and adopted the Japanese school curriculum that their institutions began to make unlooked-for strides.

To-day their colleges in Tokio, Nagasaki, Osaka, Kumamoto, and Yokohama, have a combined attendance of about 2,000 pupils and are among the most popular and highly esteemed intermediate schools in the country. The excellent teaching method of the brothers is recognized by the Government itself as worthy of imitation, and their beneficent influence on the moral life of the pupils has assured to these Catholic colleges a distinguished reputation. Educated Catholics are gradually climbing to higher positions of influence. Moreover, up to the present time, some one hundred and fifty converts have gone forth from these colleges, an honor to their faith. As for the rest of the scholars, who for the most part are sons of the best families, they require a better knowledge and appreciation of the Catholic religion, and they carry this with them into their later life.

Having made this auspicious beginning, it behooves the missionaries to further increase the number of intermediate schools wherever possible, and to supplement their training with more advanced institutions of learning. The latter task has been recently confided by Pope Pius X to the Jesuits who have been in Japan since 1908 for the purpose of investigating more closely the conditions there. The German missionaries of Steyl and the Franciscans who were recently called to their assistance recognize in the school their most powerful means of propaganda. Similarly, in 1909, the Religious of the Sacred Heart, one of the best educational orders of

women in the Catholic Church, opened their first boarding school in Tokio for the higher education of Japanese girls. The reputation which preceded them attracted to their school from the beginning daughters of the most prominent families.

The development of the system of educational institutions also makes it possible to bring into higher repute Catholic scholarship, until now so little known in Japan. A beginning worthy of recognition in this respect has already been made by the French missionaries in spite of their small numbers. The philosophic and apologetic works of Father Ligueul, the geographical, historical and linguistic works of Father Papinot, Steichen, Balet, Raguet, and others are able productions. The Japanese periodical *Ko-Kyo-zatschi*, edited by Father Drouart de Lézey, has 3,000 subscribers, and is gradually gaining an enviable reputation.

A journal, *Mélanges Japonais*, published in French at Tokio, has been in circulation for six years. It contains excellent papers on history and geography, the religious and secular news of Japan, as well as well-chosen extracts and translations from Japanese modern literature, all of which have won for it gratifying recognition in educational circles. Drouart de Lézey with the co-operation of French scholars has lately inaugurated a series of pamphlets and brochures, written by European specialists and translated into Japanese, which are intended to keep educated people in touch with contemporary questions in the learned world treated from the Catholic standpoint.

It is undeniable that the Catholic Church in Japan is slowly, but steadily winning respect. Relations with Rome have become more amicable. The educated Japanese, if he pays any attention to religion, no longer

forms his opinion of the Catholic Church exclusively from the Protestant press. Historical investigation has already begun to judge the early Christian period in Japan much more favorably. The old Jesuit sources of information, even the great treasure of the Vatican archives have been brought into use for this subject; the glorious letters of St. Francis Xavier who had such a warm heart for Japan, and to whom Europe was indebted for the first accurate knowledge on the subject, can but appeal to the sympathies of the modern Japanese. Even Count Okuma, who once regarded the early Jesuits as a set of intriguers, has had to acknowledge that their activity had a "good influence on the literature and the intellectual growth of Japan." "The foreign princes," he says, "showed great zeal for instructing the people and imparted admirable education." By their banishment "we were deprived not only of the religious element, but of all intellectual intercourse with the West." (*Unser Vaterland*, Leipzig, 1904, 187.)

Dr. Anezaki, the esteemed professor of the science of comparative religion of the Imperial University of Tokio makes no secret of his high opinion of the Catholic Church, which he studied very carefully on his European travels. It appeared to him, so he declared in public assembly, "the most powerful, the most perfect, the grandest religious organization known to human history," and further, "the one true Christianity is that which has its centre in Rome." He says that "the Catholic Church has much to recommend it to Japan, because more than any other it stands for the principle of authority." Elsewhere he speaks with admiration of the saints of the Catholic Church who tower so high above the commonplace. "The world needs those lofty moral ideals, es-

pecially in our own time with its strong materialism. For sanctity is a necessary element even for the progress of society!"

"In short," says the German missionary, Father John Weig, S.V.D., "Japan is not at all a country lost for our holy Faith;" and in this he is supported by the German Franciscan, Father Wenceslaus Kinold; "It may be confidently asserted that the future is by no means hopeless but there is need of earnest and unceasing labor in all directions."

As a matter of fact the practical success of the Christian missions in Japan has hitherto been almost inappreciable. "As yet not one-half per cent. of the whole population has been won to Christianity in any form. . . . The great majority of the inhabitants, even many cities have scarcely heard of the Gospel" . . . it follows that the word of Christ has still to penetrate the thousands of villages on the coast and in the interior of the long chain of islands. It may be safely said that practically nine-tenths of the whole population has never heard directly of Christianity.(1)

Sad as this sounds, it is not without its note of encouragement. Cultured Japan, which has already to such a great extent come under the influence of modern free thought and false teaching, it will thus be seen, forms the smallest part of the nation. Behind it stands the true strength of the people, the Japanese peasants and countrymen, nearly 75 per cent. of the population. This offers to the apostolate a rich and certainly not an unfruitful field.

Once the Catholic mission has succeeded through schools and appeals to learned interests in obtaining a firm

(1) H. Haas, "Japan's Zukunfts religion," 115.

vantage ground in the cities and among the ruling classes, and in equipping for the real mission to the people the needful foreign and native working forces and financial resources—at present there are available only about 130 European and 33 native priests, 416 catechists and 389 sisters, hardly enough for one of the four dioceses—then the Catholic Church may accomplish great and consoling results, even in Japan. But, of course, behind the mission the whole Catholic world of Europe and America must stand as one, united and ready for any sacrifice.

(Abridged from Krose's "*Kirchliches Handbuch: 1908-1909.*")

Catholic Missions

IV.

THE CHINESE EMPIRE

A country like the Chinese Empire, which extends over rather more than a fourth part of Asia and includes in its four hundred millions of subjects one-fourth of the whole human family, demands careful study. Its intelligent and industrious population, its customs, industries, commerce, politics and religion make it easily the most important field for missionary effort to-day. More than ever before the attention of the Great Powers is now fixed upon the Celestial Empire. Much has been said and written about the "yellow peril," which in the eyes of some writers consists of millions of Mongolians who, like the Huns and Vandals of yore, may one day hurl themselves upon Europe, old and decadent. Others see in such a possible invasion of the yellow race nothing more substantial than an old woman's tale. What the future may hold in store it is not given us to see and must be left to God's Providence, but certain it is that at present the Chinese nation is in no condition to wage successful war against the western nations.

It is well known that for many centuries China was so isolated by distance, law and custom that it had little or no communication with western civilization. If in the seventeenth century merchant vessels were permitted to trade between Macao and the mainland, very few

missioners were able to penetrate to the interior and then always at the risk of their lives, which all too often paid the forfeit of their zeal. The work of the Jesuits at the imperial court had its measure of success and their influence secured some degree of safety for their brethren further afield, but the hindrances of distance, the difficulties of communication and the complicated nature of governmental administration made effective protection impossible, while the needs of the immense population called for an army of missionaries.

Commercial intercourse with the western world dates from the reign of the emperor Tao Kuan (1820-1851) when a few ports were opened to European trade. Little by little the Chinese began to recognize their inferiority as a nation, but it was the hard lesson received from Japan in 1894 which determined some of the high functionaries and mandarins to map out for their country a path of progress which should effectively modify the traditions of centuries. Forming a conspiracy to effect an utter revolution in public policy, overthrow the officials attached to the old order and set up a constitutional government, they were encouraged by the weak and sickly emperor, Kwang Siu, and were on the point of acting in 1898 when their plans were revealed to the empress dowager, who was the incarnation, life and soul of the partisans of the old régime. This foxy and resourceful dame imprisoned the phthisicky emperor and seized the reins of government. Next she beheaded six of the most influential leaders of the Progressives, deposed the mandarins in sympathy with them, exiled others, and decreed the death penalty against all foreigners in the empire. Then followed the Boxer movement, the attack on the legations at Peking and the

entry of the international army into the capital. The Conservatives were crushed. The empress dowager read the signs aright. She declared herself a Progressive, opened the doors of China to European civilization, granted a railway franchise to a Franco-Belgian company, and promised the speedy promulgation of a constitution. When she died the last autocrat of the Celestial Empire went down to the grave.

The Chinese are one of those nations that history has treated in the past with little justness, and they have fared no better at the hands of some writers on mission work; but to-day there is hardly a missionary or a writer that does not recognize their excellent qualities. Speaking in particular of the laborer, all agree that he is industrious, peaceable, sober and of good habits. With regard to the neophytes our missionaries never tire in enlarging upon their deep, yet simple piety, their spirit of sacrifice, their devotedness to the missionary, and, what will surprise many, their generosity and disinterestedness in matters religious. It is not surprising that many missionaries in China are so enthusiastic over their neophytes that they prefer them to all others and they are convinced that if the Chinese nation were Catholic, it would be a model nation, the most Catholic of the world; some even go so far as to say that instead of anything like the fantastic "yellow peril," they see in the Chinese the future regenerators of a degenerate Europe.

The Chinese mission consists of thirty-eight vicariates apostolic, and five prefectures, to which we may add the diocese of Macao, which includes the Portuguese colony of the same name and a stretch of Chinese territory with a total Catholic population of 33,000. Almost wholly in ruins at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the

mission struggled along for a hundred years in the face of many bitter trials. Although the Treaty of Tien-Tsin, in 1858, and the Peace of Peking in 1860, guaranteed to the missionaries and their neophytes the free exercise of their religion, persecutions more or less bloody frequently broke out, costing the lives of many of the clergy and the faithful and destroying not a few Catholic villages. In such circumstances it is no wonder that the harvest gathered by the missionaries was not in proportion to their toil in spite of the fact that they found in the Chinese a soil so well prepared for sowing the seed of the Word. But conditions in China were greatly changed by the intervention of the great powers in the march to the relief of the legations and by the obligations placed on the Chinese Government as a consequence of that necessary step. The humiliation of the country by Japan completed the transformation. The splendor of the victories of the Mikado's forces by land and sea aroused the colossal Chinese Empire from the lethargy of ages. Chinese statesmen then realized that if their country was to be a great power it needed but to follow in the steps of Japan. To-day we see the Chinese without a vestige of their wonted conservatism and traditional staidness feverishly hastening in their work of *Europeanizing* their country. The two chief points of reform are the army and the school. The maneuvers of the Chinese army divisions which have been drilled for a short time along European lines have filled European military men with admiration; when the whole army shall have reached the efficiency which such training gives, it will be easily the most powerful as also the most numerous body of fighting men in the world.

Progress in remodeling the schools is necessarily more

slow, but the decrees on education which have been published and the activity displayed in reducing them to practice assure us that, barring unforeseen complications, the transformation of China along educational lines will be at least as rapid as it has been in Japan. Precisely on account of this intellectual revolution, the profoundest that the annals of China record, the present time is most critical for the missions. It is well known and has been repeated a thousand times that the Catholic missions in Japan did not know how to avail themselves of time and tide when that empire entered upon the highway of reform as China is now doing. Instead of receiving an army of recruits well provided with means for establishing educational institutions, the poor but zealous priests of the Foreign Missions of Paris, who were already in the field, found themselves virtually abandoned and forgotten. Then came the triumph of Japan over Russia and Catholic Europe awoke to a realization of the importance of the Japanese mission. Better late than never, but it is painful to confess that our missionaries who in these days are going to Japan are starting out thirty years behind time. God grant that the same mischance may not befall us in China, where the resulting harm would be even greater than in Japan.

We do not deny that the progress of our missions in China has been very considerable of late years; but it is certain that it would be immeasurably greater if our poor missionaries could command resources in any way comparable with those at the disposal of Protestant missionaries, just as it is certain that there are Catholic nations which, though they actually show little enthusiasm for the missions, could send many missionaries into that field.

The forty-four missions into which the empire is divided are distributed among eleven different religious families including the Foreign Missions of Paris with ten missions, the Franciscans with nine, the Lazarists with seven, the Jesuits with three, the Dominicans with two, the Augustinians with one, and the remainder scattered among five missionary organizations less known to Americans. One of these, the Society of the Divine Word, is entrusted with the mission of South Shantung, in which forty-five European and twelve Chinese priests, assisted by sixteen lay brothers and twenty-two nuns, are laboring in the midst of a pagan population estimated at ten million. This Society, whose existence began no further back than 1875, has increased to 2,000 members and has spread so remarkably that it is already at work in all the grand divisions of the world. In the United States it is established near Chicago where, among other good works, it has opened very recently an institution until then unknown in our great republic, a college expressly for training American missionaries to foreign lands! Nobody need tell us that American missionaries in foreign lands are almost so rare as to be reckoned among curiosities; nobody need tell us that in all the Catholic faith and piety of the United States there are many prospective missionaries to the heathen. The one thing necessary is to find them and when found to assist them, as far as need be, in preparing themselves for apostolic work.

The latest available statistics show us that in all but four of the Chinese missions native priests are working side by side with the European missionaries, and that in five of the missions the number of Chinese clergy equals or exceeds that of the Europeans. In all, there are forty-

three bishops, 1,346 European priests, 592 Chinese priests and 1,215 seminarists; European lay brothers number 229 and there are 130 natives; there are 558 European and 1,328 Chinese nuns. The faithful number 1,071,920, with 424,321 catechumens. The accessions are at the rate of about 87,000 a year. A notable feature of Chinese mission work is that done by the "consecrated virgins," that is, by native women who, without taking upon themselves the obligations of the religious life, resolve to remain single and devote themselves to works of charity, including teaching and catechizing.

It would be misleading to institute comparisons among the various missions, for some have a relatively large staff of missionaries and others count only a few priests, and some have long been in active operation while others are recent ventures. The Lazarists have 286,000 Catholics in their seven missions; the Jesuits have 252,000 and the Franciscans have 166,000. During the past ten years the number of European priests has almost doubled and the native priests have increased by over one-third. The Chinese priests are generally models of piety and zeal. The religious life appeals strongly to the Chinese temperament. Lazarists, Jesuits, Franciscans and others have admitted natives to their ranks and find in them valued auxiliaries for the work of the missions. The Trappist monastery, established in 1880 in the solitude of Yang-kai-ping, has met with surprising success. Among the religious who profess this austere rule there are sixty-five Chinese, of whom seventeen are priests, and there would be even more if the needed room were to be had.

We cannot break away from the Chinese mission, fragrant as it is with the memory of zeal, self-sacrifice and

martyrdom and giving to-day well founded hopes of future spiritual conquests, without a somewhat detailed reference to the great Vicariate Apostolic of Kiang Nan, which has a population of 53,650,000, the largest of any in the world. Its staff consists of one bishop, 157 Jesuit priests, of whom 26 are Chinese, sixteen scholastics preparing for the priesthood, 28 lay brothers, 221 catechists, 1,480 teachers, 800 consecrated virgins, 68 Marist Brothers, 38 being Chinese, and about 350 nuns. It has flourishing establishments of charity and education which are second to none in Europe. They include schools, one being for deaf-mutes, orphanages, hospitals, dispensaries, and homes for the aged. A bi-weekly newspaper and the monthly *Messenger of the Sacred Heart* are published in Chinese. At Zi-ka-wei there are a meteorological and a seismological observatory famous throughout the East, whose publications are prized in Europe. Conferences of St. Vincent de Paul and workingmen's clubs are not the least admirable feature of this vicariate, which is justly considered a model of organization.

When the Jesuits undertook this mission in 1842, they found 50,000 Catholics whose spiritual destitution may be surmised from the fact that in the whole immense territory there were only six available priests. Since the advent of the missionaries, who were sent in response to the urgent and repeated requests of those worthy people in whom, in spite of the lapse of years, there remained grateful memories of their old-time spiritual guides, the increase has been large and steady. From July 1, 1908, to July 1, 1909, it reached the encouraging number of 10,251. Catechumens to the number of 110,758 are now under instruction for baptism.

Here we may fittingly jot down a few statistics on the

present state of Protestant missions in China. They are for 1905 and represent a century of missionary effort. Sixty-three different religious societies, including Baptists, Congregationalists, Quakers, Episcopalians, Methodists, Presbyterians, Bible Societies and what not, return, in all, 3,445 foreign missionaries—1,443 men, 964 women, and 1,038 wives; and 9,904 Chinese workers, including native preachers, colporteurs, hospital assistants, teachers, etc. Their effective staff, therefore, reaches the handsome figure of 13,349. They report 178,251 baptized Christians, that is, 13½ apiece for the present staff, as the result of a century of missionary effort and immense expenditure of money.

KOREA.

Long known as the hermit kingdom and a dependency of the Chinese Empire, Korea, owing to the present preponderating influence of Japan is equivalently a Japanese colony. The people, who number about ten millions, are simple and naturally upright. A full history of the mission, which is confided to the priests of the Foreign Missions of Paris, would be a succession of chapters replete with examples of sublime constancy and exalted heroism such as are seldom found in the annals of the Church. A native of Korea who had been converted to the Faith in Japan by the Jesuit missionaries and had devoted himself to the work of a catechist, was burned at the stake with other martyrs in 1624. He must have been one of the first of that nation to embrace the Faith. Beatified by the Church, he is venerated on March 1st as Blessed Caius, the name that he had received at the font. We have examples of other Koreans who found the Faith

in Japan and China, but its establishment in the hermit kingdom itself is too singular to be passed over in silence. A Korean who had visited China and had there become acquainted with the missionaries returned to his native land with certain religious books which they had given to him. Gathering some of his kindred and friends around him their study of the strange books was undertaken so seriously that a handful of them actually accepted the doctrines which the books contained. This was in 1784, and from that year dates the existence of the Church in Korea. The number of believers rose to four thousand and even suffered a bloody persecution, yet a priest had never reached them. In 1794, ten years after the formation of this unique band of believers, Father Tsin, a Chinese priest, made his way to them and labored with so much success that their number was increased by several thousand. He was put to death for the Faith after a fruitful apostolate of only seven years and again the Church in Korea was without a priest. In spite of frequent petitions to Rome, it was not until 1836 or 1837 that Bishop Imbert, accompanied by two European priests, came in answer to their prayers. But in 1839 the three missionaries and many of the Faithful were martyred, and once more were those fervent Christians deprived of a shepherd. Finally, after many desperate endeavors, Bishop Ferréol, accompanied by a European priest and Father Kim, the first Korean priest, who is described as a man of lofty courage, reached the kingdom in 1845; but hardly a year had passed when Father Kim in the strength and zeal of his early manhood underwent a martyrdom worthy of his noble life. In 1849, Father Ts'oi, also a Korean, reached the mission, where he toiled incessantly for twelve years, when he died pre-

maturely from the hardships of the apostolate. The fiercest persecution of all broke out in 1866, when nearly all the missionaries were seized and put to death. Again was the country without priests and that at a time when fully 10,000 of the faithful underwent martyrdom.

For the past twenty years the Church has had a period of quiet and freedom from molestation; and now that the Japanese are supreme in the country we may safely say that our missionaries will have the same liberty and protection that they enjoy in Japan. But another enemy now threatens the sorely-tried Church in Korea, for with the advent of the Japanese there has seized upon the Koreans a perfect rage for schools, by which they hope to reach the degree of enlightenment already attained by their masters. Protestant bodies, quick to take advantage of the changed conditions, have hurried an army of missionaries into a field so freely watered with the blood of Catholics, have opened very numerous schools, and have undertaken a truly extraordinary press campaign. The Catholic schools number only 112, with 2,267 pupils. There are 56 priests, of whom ten are natives, 40 catechists and 52 nuns. Yet, with these insignificant means, 4,676 were added to the Faith last year, bringing the total number of Korean Catholics up to 68,016. After what we have said of their history and character, it is superfluous to add that Korean catechumens are models. It is expected that the German Benedictine monks who have been called to that mission very lately will speedily raise Catholic education to the higher plane which recent developments imperatively demand.

The note of pessimism which has been heard of late years in accounts of mission work in Japan and which, owing to its political dependence on the island empire,

should soon be equally present in reports from Korea, if it is not already there, is hardly warranted by a careful consideration of all the facts of the case. If it is averred that the rationalism which has taken possession of the minds of so many among the influential classes is bound to constitute an almost insuperable barrier to the progress of the Faith we rejoin that the number of our catechumens shows steady progress, even though it be slow, and that Japanese rationalism, however undesirable it may be, has not the detestable earmarks of its European congener. The first to feel its influence and possibly succumb to it would be the nobility and the official classes, but in Korea as elsewhere they constitute only a small minority of the population. In both countries, therefore, the body of the people being free from prepossession and intellectual bias, the work of evangelization could still be pressed with most consoling results in spite of the unresponsiveness of nobles and officials.

THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS.

The see of Manila was erected by Pope Gregory XIII in 1581, with Fray Domingo de Salazar, O.P., as its first bishop. Religion made such progress in the islands that ten years later Pope Clement VIII raised it to the dignity of a metropolitan church and erected the three suffragan sees of Cebú, Nueva Segovia and Nueva Cáceres. The Dominicans, Franciscans and Augustinians who were so often called to the honor of the mitre in the Philippines give us at the same time a fair indication of the missionaries who transformed that spiritually barren waste into a flourishing Catholic community with native bishops, priests and religious. In spite of their zeal and the success that attended their labors, their activity did not

reach the limits of the colony. Therefore, of all the islands southeast of Asia which are called collectively the East Indian Archipelago, the Philippines are still the scene of the most important missionary labors. The islands of Mindanao is to-day the most important centre. Before the Spanish-American war there were strong indications of the speedy conversion of all the remaining pagans, who must number several hundred thousand, for all the difficulties of the initial steps had been happily overcome. In the years immediately preceding the war, the fruits of many years of illrequited missionary effort were seen in numerous conversions, even of Mohammedans, and the Jesuits who were in charge of the apostolic work looked forward confidently to the transformation of entire pagan or Mohammedan villages into centres of Christian faith and practice. The converts numbered over 75,000 when the war and its consequences forced the Jesuits to abandon the field for the time being. When in answer to the repeated entreaties of their neophytes they returned to their labors they found a sad change. Disturbing political factors, supporters of the Aglipayan schism and Protestant missionaries abundantly supplied with money were new elements which made the work of conversion much more difficult. What has been repeatedly noted in this brief survey must be mentioned again. Their cry is for schools, schools. In the island of Luzón the Spanish Augustinians had a flourishing mission of 40,000 neophytes with bright prospects for the conversion of the remaining 150,000 who belong chiefly to the tribe of Igorrotes; but the fortunes of war drove them out of the mission, which remained almost wholly abandoned until it was taken up by the Belgian missionaries of Scheut.

OCEANIA.

A few words will suffice to give some notion of the many small missions in Oceania. The number of pagans is estimated at about one million, by far the greater part of them being devotees of gross fetichism. The Marists, the Congregation of the Sacred Heart and the Congregation of the Sacred Heart of Jesus and Mary, are the chief missionary bodies engaged in their evangelization. One of the difficulties peculiar to these missions is that as the inhabitants dwell on islands scattered over an extensive area the missionaries who journey in small sailboats are so often becalmed that they are obliged to spend a good portion of their lives on the water. A small steam launch which is a source of mere pleasure elsewhere, would be a godsend to the lone missionary in Oceania. Altogether the Catholic natives number 130,000, with 20,000 children in school. There are 392 priests, 291 lay brothers and 531 nuns.

CONCLUSION.

In summing up what we have said on the missions, the first thought that strikes us is their immense extent. There is hardly an important district in the whole world into which the Catholic missionary has not penetrated and there set up his tent. Enormous difficulties have had to be overcome, some from nature some from men, but they have yielded before the soldier of the cross. The initial hardships have been successfully encountered; the happy realization of the missionary's golden dream calls for only recruits and means.

Again, we may reflect with great satisfaction on the large number of native priests on the mission. Doubtless

the supposed negligence of the missionaries of preceding centuries in forming a native clergy has been exaggerated; but it is none the less true that nowadays there prevail clearer and more solidly founded ideas of the importance of the formation of a native priesthood. Of the 12,305 priests on the mission nearly 6,000 are indigenes, and this fact is an eloquent testimony to the enlightened zeal of the Europeans and to the worth of the natives.

Further, we may remark the large number of missionaries who are not priests, some being clerical students or lay brothers and others belonging to institutes or congregations composed exclusively of brothers. Their employment in schools, workshops and agriculture is an important part of the apostolate. Eight thousand are thus engaged. Another and a very marked feature of present-day mission work is the incalculable aid which it receives from orders of sisters. Reflecting upon their services in instructing their own sex not only in religion but also in domestic economy and the usages of civilization, we see that our latter-day missions have a prodigious advantage over those of earlier centuries. The generous souls who have consecrated themselves to mission work reach the amazing number of 18,000.

Finally one of the most important features of mission work in modern times is the instruction of catechumens. Precisely because the Church is now attacked on all sides our missionaries are extremely careful to impart a solid knowledge of the Faith and its practice to those who seek baptism. The number of catechumens to-day reaches about 1,500,000, an eloquent and convincing proof of the growth and stamina of Catholic missions.

HILARIÓN GIL.

Razón y Fe, March, 1910.



Catholic Missions

V

THE JESUITS IN THE PHILIPPINES

1581-1909

The Philippine Archipelago numbers about 2,000 islands, whose total area is equal to that of the New England States, New York and New Jersey. These islands are scattered irregularly through 1,200 miles of latitude and 2,400 miles of longitude. Reaching to within 5 degrees north latitude of the equator, their climate, flora and fauna are tropical. Though discovered under Spanish auspices they were claimed by Portugal, under the decision of Pope Alexander VI, who undertook to fix the Spanish and Portuguese spheres of influence in discovery, trade and colonization. But as soon as it was established that the Philippines did not abound in spices Portuguese opposition weakened considerably and disappeared when both nations came under one sceptre.

Under the Spanish rule the archipelago was connected politically with Mexico or New Spain, and the first three expeditions sent out by Spain after the original discovery, sailed from the western coast of Mexico. Now the whirligig of time has brought about a renewal of that political dependence on America. As Spain sent Spanish governors, bishops and priests to her transmarine possessions, so, since the American occupation, American governors, bishops and priests have crossed the Pacific

to look after the religious and civil interests of natives, colonists and transient visitors.

Racially one, the natives vary in type, language and progress in civilization; but there remains only a small part of the population that could still be designated as savage or barbarous.

The six or seven millions of Malays who inhabit the Philippine Archipelago are children of men who were raised from savagery, taught the usages of civilization, trained to labor and brought to the faith by the zeal of Catholic missionaries. They represent the only large body of Asiatics brought to any form of Christianity in modern times. Unlike the Africans, they were not torn from kindred and native land and reduced to slavery, but in their familiar haunts by mountain or river or in tropical forests they have been sought for, found and gained for the Church.

It was under the patronage of the Emperor Charles V as King of Spain that Ferdinand Magellan set out, in September, 1519, on the voyage of discovery which brought him across the Atlantic, through the straits that bear his name, to the Ladrones (the islands of thieves) Guam and finally to Butúan, north of Mindanao, where he landed in March, 1521, and took possession of the archipelago in the name of the Spanish king.

The territory was claimed by the Portuguese, who, in protesting against a Spanish expedition in 1542 under Rui-López de Villalobos, asserted that they had already made some progress in introducing the Faith. The Spaniards did little more than change the name of St. Lazarus, given to the archipelago by Magellan, to the Philippines in honor of the then reigning king, Philip II, consort of Mary of England.

Priests had accompanied Magellan and Villalobos, but missionaries properly so called went out first in the expedition of Legazpi in 1564. They were Augustinians. The first Franciscan missionaries arrived in 1577, the Dominicans followed ten years later, and the Recollects reached the islands in 1606. The Benedictines and the Hospitallers of St. John of God arrived at a later date and took part in religious work. As a sketch of all this missionary activity, embracing a period of three hundred and fifty years, could not be kept within the limits of this short paper, we shall, with grateful recognition of the apostolic labors of other Orders, confine ourselves to a brief survey of the work of the Society of Jesus in our Asiatic possessions.

Three hundred and twenty-eight years have elapsed since the Jesuits first came to the Philippine Islands.

What these Spanish Fathers accomplished in the missionary and educational field has not been surpassed by the achievements of their brethren in any other part of the world. Neither the celebrated Jesuit "Reductions of Paraguay," nor the discoveries and explorations in North America of men like Père Marquette, nor the scientific work of others, like Ricci in China, exceed the triumph that was theirs in civilizing, in exploring and in scientific research throughout the archipelago.

In 1581 the first bishop of the Philippines, the Dominican, Salazar, set out from Mexico for his new see accompanied by four Jesuits. One of these, a brother of the great theologian, Suarez, died on the voyage; the second was a lay brother, Nicolas Gallardo; the other two were the priests Antonio Sedeño and Alonzo Sanchez. Sedeño had been a soldier in his earlier days, and under his leader, the Duke of Frias, had acquired many an

accomplishment that he put to good service after he had exchanged the military cap and cloak for the black gown and the biretta.

Strangely enough he had been a missionary in Florida before he was sent to Manila, thus being a pioneer in territories so widely separated that were afterwards to be united under the Stars and Stripes. In Manila he found much to do besides preaching to the Spaniards and instructing the natives in the elements of Christianity.

With tools in hand he set to work to show the natives by example how to cut stone, to make lime and to mix mortar. Then he built the first stone house in the city—a residence for the bishop. The old chroniclers give him the title of “architect of the city of Manila,” because the example he gave in the erection of solid structures was quickly followed by many others. He superintended the building of the first fortress in Manila. Perceiving the skill of the natives in imitative work, he brought over families from China to teach their art to the Filipinos. He imported seed, planted mulberry trees and showed the natives how to spin silk. He set up looms and taught them to weave and to sew. He opened the first school in the Philippines and later founded colleges in Manila and in Cebú. As superior of his Jesuit brethren he sent missionaries to the Visayan Islands. Fourteen years of this strenuous life exhausted the vitality of the quondam soldier and priest, missionary to American Indians and to Filipinos. He died in Manila towards the close of the sixteenth century.

His companion, Father Sanchez, had a no less remarkable career. He was the constant companion and adviser of the Dominican bishop, Salazar, who put him in charge

of publishing the resolutions framed by the first synod of Manila. He was sent on an embassy to Macao, and so highly did the bishop and priests value his advice that they suspended all sessions of the synod until his return. A second time he was despatched to Macao and Canton, and on coming back to Manila after a series of adventures, including shipwreck and imprisonment, found more important diplomatic work awaiting him.

There was at the time a party at the court of Philip II of Spain who were working to persuade the king to abandon his new possessions in the Philippines, chiefly on account of their expense to the home government. In conformity with this policy they were not inclined to grant any favors to the far-distant colonists.

The Spaniards in Manila realized that their situation was a hopeless one unless they could find a capable champion for their cause, who would go to the king himself and represent the situation of those who, as they were laboring on the land, appreciated its resources more truly than the theorizers at home. And so meetings were held for the election of a representative. The governor and his council met, the bishop and his ecclesiastical chapter, the soldiers, the merchants, the religious orders, each had its own separate election with the result that all unanimously chose Father Sanchez as the advocate and preserver of the colony.

It was in vain that Father Sanchez pleaded his infirmities, his dislike of diplomatic work, and the evangelization of the natives to which he longed to devote himself. The Audiencia informed his Superior, Father Sedeño, that it would be well for him to notify the Father to accept the office willingly, for all had determined that he must plead their cause.

Sanchez set out at once from Cavite. What esteem the colonists had for him is seen in the letter written by the Bishop, Salazar, to the Pope, Sixtus V: "I beg your Holiness to listen with kindness and put complete confidence in everything that Father Sanchez will say to you. All states and conditions of people here, clerics, religious and secular, have such trust in him that in him they have placed all hopes which they entertain of relief for these islands. Six years have I known him and on intimate terms, consulting him in all matters of business, in all difficulties which I meet in this diocese—and they are many and great—and always have I found him a man of virtue, of zeal for truth, one who is not a respecter of persons, full of learning and erudition."

Father Sanchez took with him to Spain a young Pampanga boy named Martin, that he might show the people of Europe the natural talent of the Filipino. Martin went with Father Sanchez to Rome, entered the Society of Jesus, and returned later to the Philippines. He was the first Filipino Jesuit.

Father Sanchez fulfilled the hopes of those who had elected him their representative. He presented to the king an elaborate and detailed account of the advantages that would accrue to Spain by keeping the archipelago, pointed out the natural resources of the islands in themselves, and their proximity to Japan and China. Every argument that could be thought of in favor of the abandonment of the islands he had foreseen and answered completely and satisfactorily. His embassy was crowned with success. Philip II became fixed in his purpose to retain his new possessions at any sacrifice; the privileges asked for in behalf of the colonists and natives were granted. Sanchez next set out for Rome, where his pleading was no less

successful. His work accomplished, he was eager to return to his beloved mission. But his days of labor were ended; he died in Spain in 1593, being fifty years of age.

New laborers came from Europe and were placed in the more populous centres throughout the islands, schools were opened—primitive ones at first from the nature of the case—but gradually increasing in excellence as the people became sufficiently advanced to receive them. A printing press was set up, a study was made of the native languages, and grammars and dictionaries published. Many of these are preserved to this day and remain as imperishable monuments to the energy and industry of the Jesuit Fathers.

As soon as circumstances permitted, the school in Manila was advanced to a college and the college to a University—the first to be established in the islands (1601). Unfortunately, nothing remains of it to-day but the memory of the good it accomplished. It was located on the ground now occupied by the Cuartel España. An accurate description of both church and university has come down to us from contemporary writers. From the point of architecture and richness of adornment the buildings were said to have been no less beautiful than many of the cathedrals of Spain. A bull of Gregory XV arrived in 1623, authorizing the Jesuits to grant degrees in philosophy and theology. Among the students were men who became famous later on as bishops, superiors of religious orders and statesmen.

Captain Pedro de Brito in 1607 gave the Jesuits a generous donation for the purpose of building a church and training-school for young aspirants to their order. The church was completed in 1620; it still remains and

is known as the Church of San Pedro Macati. Under the middle aisle is buried Captain Pedro and a long eulogy on the slab marking his last resting place attests the gratitude of the Fathers to their benefactor.

Besides two colleges and a seminary in Manila the Jesuits were in charge of Santa Cruz Church, Manila, and had, moreover, a college in Cavite. In 1595 some of the Fathers went to Cebú and opened little schools there. Through the generosity of Alférez Pedro de Aguilar and Alonso de Henao they began a college in that city, 1607. The institution bore the name of the "College of San Ildefonso." From humble beginnings it grew to prominence and exercised a great influence over the surrounding country. Later, a college was established in Arevalo, province of Antique, and others in Marinduque and Zamboanga.

In other places they contented themselves with building churches and opening elementary schools. They possessed nineteen establishments in Leyte and twenty in Samar. Some of these churches are still standing and the people of the pueblos still speak of the "Asuitas" who built them. The Fathers had fourteen churches in as many towns in the neighborhood of Manila; they had a church in Mindoro, in Negros and in Paragua; there were two in Panay, ten in Bohol and thirteen in Mindanao.

They did not neglect the temporal welfare of the natives while devoting themselves to religion and education.

The missionaries in Mexico had become acquainted with a small indigenous tree from the fruit of which the natives prepared a table delicacy which was in such high esteem that over two thousand jars of it were prepared

annually for the use of Montezuma and his court. This tree was the cacao, which furnishes us with chocolate. The tree was peculiar to Mexico, Central America and certain limited portions of South America and was quite unknown in the Philippines. It was to the enlightened thoughtfulness of the Jesuit Father Juan Dávila, who died in 1706, that the tree with its appetizing and nutritious product was introduced and propagated.

Then came political troubles; the Jesuits were exiled from the dominions of Spain, and consequently from the Philippines. Seventy years later they returned to the Islands, but they had to begin all anew. During their absence education had suffered; even in the capital, Manila, there was not a school for secondary instruction. A little band of ten Jesuits left Cadiz on February 4, 1859. There were six priests in the party, Fathers Cuevas, Guerri, Vidal, Serra, Barrado and Vidal; and four brothers, Innunciaga, Coma, Balzunce and Larranga. It was intended that they should proceed immediately to Mindanao and devote themselves to the evangelization of the nomad tribes there.

Communication with Mindanao was by no means as simple a matter then as it is in our own day. The Fathers awaited the departure of a sailing vessel bound for the Southern island. Meanwhile, their waiting was no period of idleness. They began to preach, to visit the sick in the hospitals and the unfortunates in prison. Their earnest zeal was soon talked of through the city and the Governor General called the Father Superior for a consultation. He was requested to modify his plans for the evangelization of Mindanao. The people of Manila wanted the services of the Jesuits. There was a school, the "Escuela Pia," which clamored for their

care. So it was resolved that a third of the party would stay in Manila to teach. On December 7, 1859, the contract was signed and on December 10 the first class under Jesuit direction began. There had been thirty boys in the "Escuela Pia"; there were 162 in attendance four months after the Jesuits took control.

New methods were responsible for the increase, which was not a spasmodic one. Boys came quicker than the Jesuits could find room and teachers for them. The young students found in the school the law of no favor but an equal chance for all. Social position, wealth and race were not counted in the struggle for educational honors; application and talent alone were of value. Up to this time it was difficult for ambitious young people to learn the Spanish language; this became the language of the Jesuit institution, the one means of communication between pupil and teacher. European habits of dress were not only permitted but encouraged. One of the first text books put in the hands of the young people was a treatise on politeness. And when after a few years, boarders were admitted to the college, they found themselves introduced to the use of beds, of knives and forks and napkins, of collars and cuffs and shiny shoes and other little by-products of latter-day refinement. Rapidly the little school advanced; ere long classes of secondary instruction were added, and the degree of Bachelor of Arts, awarded on the completion of the course of studies, admitted the young graduates to the professional schools of Europe.

March 31, 1870, was the date of the first commencement. Some of those who were graduated then took a prominent part in the semi-centenary exercises last week. The class-roll was the following: Benito Legarda (now

resident commissioner to the United States), Leon Maria Guerrero, member of the First Philippine Assembly, Julian de Aguirre, Francisco Benabent, Manuel Blanco, Vicente Casas, Telésforo Chuidian, Bernardo Fernandez, Lucas Gonzalez, Pedro Govantes, Juan Icaza and Angel Montes.

The first Rector of the Ateneo, Father Cuevas, found time to organize elementary classes for poor children living in the outlying districts of the city. For this purpose he formed societies of charitably-disposed ladies and gentlemen and united them in societies called "Conferences of St. Vincent de Paul." The chief object of these associations was the maintenance of schools for the poor. Father Cuevas visited the schools every week. He soon realized that the scheme he had adopted was inadequate. It did not reach all the children of Manila, and Manila was but one city out of many.

He therefore petitioned the Governor-General for the erection of a Normal School, and engaged himself to procure Jesuit teachers for it from Spain. The plan was approved and on January 11, 1865, the new Fathers arrived after a weary voyage of six months. After a brief sojourn in the Ateneo, they opened their school for teachers, first in the Walled City and later in the buildings now occupied by the Observatory. The impetus given by this school to the study of the Spanish language was remarkable. Considering the small number of Jesuits assigned to the work, and the very meagre aid they received from the government, it is amazing to learn that the Normal School during the thirty years of its existence graduated 1,948 teachers.

The Ateneo was fortunate in always having on its staff men who were devoted to science. Such was Father

Colina, who came to the college in 1861 and was the first to publish in the daily press of Manila the readings of the barometer and thermometer and other atmospheric changes.

After the baguio of September 27, 1865, had wrought destruction in many parts of the Islands, Father Colina gave the public a scientific account of the baguio and of the curves it had described. It may seem small comfort to describe an evil after it has passed away, but the baguio evil was sure to come again, and as no one in the city had ever seen or heard of a scientific picturing of a baguio, nor thought it possible to reduce the mad fury of the storm to certain fixed laws, Father Colina's account produced a most favorable impression everywhere.

In 1869, Father Faura, a professor at the college took charge of the meteorological work. From the square tower of the Ateneo he took his observations; for years he noted carefully climatic changes with special reference to baguios; he went to Europe for further study, returning to the Ateneo in 1878; he conferred with the Jesuit Fathers in charge of the observatory in Cuba, who were then making a special study of the destructive hurricanes of the West Indies. Fifteen years had been spent in study and at length he seemed to have the secret of the baguio in his grasp. Like everything in nature, it was governed by fixed laws, it was the effect of determined causes, it was preceded, accompanied and followed by unchanging phenomena.

These things Father Faura had sought for years with the eagerness of any explorer to find unknown lands. He was now convinced that he had made the discovery, and in July, 1879, predicted that a baguio was coming

and described the course it would take. The prediction was verified in every detail.

In November of the same year Father Faura announced that another baguio was on its way and would come very close to Manila. It is needless to say that the warning caused great excitement in the city. All possible precautions were taken to protect life and property. The baguio arrived on scheduled time, but the notice of its approach rendered the resultant damage in Manila comparatively small. News soon began to arrive of the havoc the storm had wrought in localities which were taken unprepared. No further argument was needed to convince the people of the value of Father Faura's discovery.

Subscriptions were opened in Manila and Hongkong to enable the now celebrated meteorologist to devote himself unreservedly to his humanitarian work. The matter was also taken up by the government, the observatory was removed from the Ateneo to its present location in Ermita and its field of usefulness greatly enlarged.

Between the years 1879-1882 Father Faura predicted the existence and true position of fifty-three baguios. He invented the barometer which bears his name for the approach of baguios in the Philippines. By following the simple directions he laid down for its use, anyone can now forecast the approach of the storms which had been such a mystery and a source of terror in the past.

While still a young professor at the Ateneo, Father Faura had won great fame by his successful observations of the total eclipse of the sun which occurred in 1868. In company with Father Ricart (who is still doing active work in Spain), and Father Nonell, and with the aid of the Spanish Government, he went to a small island

near Amboino in the Celebes Sea where the duration of the eclipse was longest.

The Government of Holland had also sent out a party of scientists and these had selected a place very near that of the three Jesuit Fathers. Unfortunately their ship was wrecked; scientists from other governments and from various astronomical societies in Europe chose favorable points in India, but the cloudiness that prevailed in these places on the day of the eclipse rendered their work futile.

The three Ateneo professors were the only scientists of the world whose labors were crowned with success. Their drawings, photographs and other observations were published in the leading scientific review of Italy; they were re-published by the astronomer Secchi in his famous work on "The Sun" and have since reappeared in every standard work treating of solar eclipses.

The Rector of the College of the Ateneo at present is the Rev. Joaquin Añon, S.J. He has held the office a little more than four years and during his incumbency has done much to advance the college from both a material and an intellectual standpoint. He erected the new building on Arzobispo street, with its magnificent façade and grand stairway. He introduced additional courses of study, notably in the sciences. He organized and personally directed the great jubilee celebration of the past week.

When Dewey's fleet arrived in Manila Bay, Father Añon was a young teacher in the college. Leaving Manila, he went to St. Louis, where he studied for a couple of years in the University of that city. He came back to the Ateneo not only familiar with the methods of American schools, but with an acquaintance

with the English language equal almost to his knowledge of his own native tongue. A perfect pronunciation and correct use of words characterizes his conversation. Appointed director of studies, he was soon promoted to his present responsible position by the General of the Society of Jesus in Rome.

A companion of Father Añon during the days of American occupation and in the University of St. Louis was the Rev. Joaquin Vilallonga, at present professor of higher mathematics in the Ateneo. Father Vilallonga was famed for his theological lore while in the University, and on one occasion was publicly congratulated by the then President Roosevelt and by Cardinal Gibbons for his exceptional display of scholarship. Father Vilallonga is greatly interested in working among the young men of the city. He organized a night-school, which he conducts at present, for workingmen. The school has an attendance roll of 500. Everything is free, even to the text-books. The sessions are held in the Ateneo class-rooms every night, excepting Saturday and Sunday, from 6 to 8 o'clock.

The organization of the monster procession last Wednesday was due to the initiative and continued energy of Father Vilallonga. He is also at the head of a number of young men who under his direction teach catechism on Sundays in practically every church in Manila and vicinity.

Other professors of the college who have spent a number of years in the States are Fathers Agreda, Brianso, Burnioll, Peypoch, Rebull, Sauras, Saus, Sola and Vives. Five former professors are now engaged studying in various universities of the United States, preparing to resume their professorships in the Ateneo.

The splendid manifestation in favor of the Ateneo last Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday was proof sufficient of the great esteem in which the Spanish Jesuits are held by all classes of the community. They have labored from the first day of their arrival for the uplifting and advancement of the people; during trying times they persevered courageously and quickly adapted themselves to changed political conditions.

No less glorious has been their success in their work among the tribes of Mindanao. There, too, they have repeated the wonders wrought by their brethren of 300 years ago, gathering the nomad peoples into towns, establishing schools and compiling grammars and dictionaries of the strange dialects.

There is more than satisfaction in the consciousness of victory achieved. There is the confidence that arouses to renewed effort, and with such a confidence the Jesuits can enter on the second half-century of the second period of their work in the Philippines.

PHILIP M. FINEGAN, S.J.

The Cablenews-American,
Manila, P. I., Dec. 12, 1909.

Mr. Roosevelt and the Vatican



Colonel Roosevelt rejected the honor of an audience with the Holy Father during his visit to Rome. The details of the episode are best presented by the messages that passed between Colonel Roosevelt's spokesman and the Vatican officials, and the statements of the Cardinal Secretary of State and Bishop Kennedy, Rector of the American College.

While at Gondokoro in February Mr. Roosevelt wrote to Ambassador Leishman, saying that he would be glad of the honor of an audience with King Victor Emmanuel and the Pope. The audience with the King was arranged promptly. Before an arrangement could be reached relative to an audience with the Pope several telegrams were passed between him and his spokesman in Rome.

Colonel Roosevelt received this cablegram from Mr. Leishman at Cairo, March 20:

"Mgr. Kennedy, Rector of the American Catholic College, in reply to an inquiry which I caused to be made, requests that the following communication be transmitted to you:

"'The Holy Father will be delighted to grant an audience to Mr. Roosevelt on April 5, and hopes that nothing will arise to prevent it such as the much-regretted incident which made the reception of Mr. Fairbanks impossible.'"

Colonel Roosevelt, replying to Mr. Leishman, March 25, telegraphed:

"Please present the following to Mgr. Kennedy:

“ ‘It would be a real pleasure to me to be presented to the Holy Father, for whom I entertain high respect, both personally and as the head of a great Church. I fully recognize his entire right to receive or not receive whomsoever he chooses, for any reason that seems good to him, and if he does not receive me I shall not for a moment question the propriety of his action. On the other hand, I, in my turn, must decline to make any stipulations or submit to any conditions which in any way would limit my freedom or conduct. I trust that on April 5 he will find it convenient to receive me.’

“ ‘THEODORE ROOSEVELT.’ ”

HOW BISHOP KENNEDY ACTED.

Mgr. Kennedy, the Rector of the American College, made this statement in regard to the foregoing:

“On March 20 First Secretary of Embassy Garrett called on me to transmit a request and express Mr. Roosevelt's desire for an audience with the Holy Father on April 5. I informed Mr. Garrett that I would immediately present Mr. Roosevelt's request to the proper authorities of the Vatican, promising a response as soon as possible.

“The following day I was authorized to send the first message, which I did through the American Embassy. The reference to the Fairbanks incident in this message was intended by the Vatican only as a friendly intimation to Mr. Roosevelt to be on his guard. The message in reply from Mr. Roosevelt was communicated to the Vatican authorities on the same day. On Monday, the 28th, I was instructed to send the following:

“ ‘His Holiness would be much pleased to grant an

audience to Mr. Roosevelt, for whom he entertains the highest esteem both personally and as former President. His Holiness quite recognizes Mr. Roosevelt's entire right to full freedom of conduct. On the other hand, in view of circumstances for which neither His Holiness nor Mr. Roosevelt is responsible, an audience could not take place except on the understanding expressed in a former message.'

"Nothing further from Mr. Roosevelt reached me."

On March 28 Mr. Roosevelt at Cairo received a cablegram from Ambassador Leishman giving this message from Mgr. Kennedy, and the following day Mr. Roosevelt sent another message to the American Ambassador, saying:

"The proposed presentation is of course now impossible."

WHY THE POPE DID NOT SEE MR. ROOSEVELT.

The following despatch from Rome to the New York *Sun* of April 4, tells the reasons, as given out by Cardinal Merry del Val, Secretary of State, why the Pope did not see Colonel Roosevelt. At the opening the Cardinal said:

"This is the present situation: The Methodists here in Rome strive by every means to conduct a campaign of venomous hostility against the Holy Father by lies and slanders. Here at his very door, in this his own episcopal city, they harbor alien priests. Moreover, they openly sympathize with and aid his enemies. They also advocate and strive to put into effect the principle enunciated by Bovio at the foot of the statute of Giordano Bruno, the apostate priest, when he said: 'We have stripped the Pope of his temporal power and we will never rest till we strip him of his spiritual power as well.'

"When Mr. Roosevelt expressed a wish to see the Pope it was feared that he did not know that the situation was as I have described it. As a consequence he was advised in a friendly way and the hope was expressed that the audience would not be prevented by any incident similar to that which made impossible a meeting between His Holiness and Mr. Fairbanks. No condition was imposed, but the same procedure was adopted as when other audiences with the Pope are arranged."

Cardinal Merry del Val quoted as examples the audiences granted to the Emperor of Germany, King Edward of England and other sovereigns. The Cardinal then proceeded: "When audiences are arranged the Vatican authorities naturally suggest beforehand in a friendly way the things that are to be done. All this interchange of messages was preliminary and was naturally considered in the Vatican as confidential, not for the Vatican's sake but for that of Mr. Roosevelt himself, in order that he might be left free and unembarrassed on his arrival in Rome. Actually no application for an audience was made but Mr. Roosevelt's wish to see the Pope was conveyed to the Vatican. This and other communications, it was thought in the Vatican, were not intended for publication."

"I saw Mr. O'Laughlin, who presented a letter from Mgr. Falconio at Washington, who cabled the same day that it was his desire that I see Mr. O'Laughlin merely in the capacity of one of Mr. Roosevelt's traveling companions. Mr. O'Laughlin told me that he did not represent Mr. Roosevelt and then I asked what he was here for."

"Mr. O'Laughlin answered: 'To see if we cannot arrange the matter.' He assured me that if the telegrams

that had passed were withdrawn Mr. Roosevelt would see the Pope and all the difficulties would be at an end. This, it seemed to me, showed that Mr. O'Laughlin was really in a position to arrange matters. Accordingly I replied: 'That is impossible.'

"Mr. O'Laughlin's contention was that Mr. Roosevelt was at liberty to go where he liked and to do what he pleased after the audience. My reply was:

"'After or before makes no difference. It is not a question of religion. Mr. Roosevelt can go to his own or to any Protestant church in the city of Rome, and while there deliver an address if he chooses to do so. Then, if he pleases, he may drive direct from that church and be received by the Holy Father.' I added, however, that it would be more tactful if Mr. Roosevelt would first drive to his hotel and there wait a few minutes before starting out for the audience.

"'But,' I went on, 'he cannot go to the Methodists in this place. I do not know about the Methodists in other places and to them I do not refer—but those in this place are particularly offensive to His Holiness because they conduct a campaign of villainous calumny against the Holy See. Therefore, to go before or after the audience with the Pope and with the full knowledge that it would be offensive would be equally objectionable to the Holy Father.'

"Continuing, I said to Mr. O'Laughlin: 'All I ask is this: Can you assure me that Mr. Roosevelt will de facto not go to the Methodists, thus leaving entirely aside the question of what he may consider his rights in the matter?'

"Mr. O'Laughlin replied: 'I cannot give any such assurance. On the contrary, my opinion is that Mr.

Roosevelt is just the kind of a man to go, although he has as yet made no engagement.'

"I replied: 'Mr. Roosevelt is entirely free to go where he pleases, but the Holy Father is certainly free to refuse to receive any one who reserves the right wittingly to offend him.'"

The Cardinal then gave examples to illustrate the Vatican's point of view in the matter. Suppose, he suggested, that Mr. Roosevelt were to go to Berlin. He certainly would not go to Polish clubs if it were pointed out to him in a diplomatic way that such action would be offensive to the Kaiser. This before or after being received by his Majesty.

Another example he gave Mr. O'Laughlin, to quote his own words, was as follows: "You are free to take off your coat when you visit me and you may sit in your shirt sleeves now if you desire, but if you were to do so I would certainly not receive you again."

"Concluding my talk with Mr. O'Laughlin," the Cardinal said, "I remarked in substance: 'If I or any prelate from the Vatican went to America, we would consider ourselves obliged to conform to the laws and customs of that country. If I wished an audience at the White House I should feel obliged to inquire about the etiquette to be observed. I would naturally be anxious if only as a matter of delicacy, to abstain from any act that might be interpreted as offensive. The Holy Father expects the same from all who desire to see him.'"

INCOMPLETE STORY GIVEN OUT.

Although the negotiations were technically between Ambassador Leishman and Mgr. Kennedy, it is well un-

derstood in Rome that Mgr. Kennedy was acting under the instructions of Cardinal Merry del Val. The telegrams, therefore, were in reality between former President Roosevelt and the Papal Secretary of State, and surprise was expressed when it was learned that Colonel Roosevelt had given out the text of the messages exchanged by Mgr. Kennedy and the American Ambassador, as they were regarded by the Vatican in the light of diplomatic documents.

This surprise was increased when it was seen that the full text of Bishop Kennedy's last message was not given out but only the last sentence which, without what had preceded it, creates an erroneous impression of the affair.

To ensure the publicity of his own side of the incident, Colonel Roosevelt cabled the following statement to the Rev. Lyman Abbott, editor of *The Outlook* in New York, by whom it was given out at once to the daily press:

"Through *The Outlook*, I wish to make a statement to my fellow Americans regarding what has occurred in connection with the Vatican. I am sure that the great majority of my fellow citizens, Catholics quite as much as Protestants, will feel that I acted in the only way possible for an American to act, and because of this very fact I most earnestly hope that the incident will be treated in a matter-of-course way as merely personal, and, above all, as not warranting the slightest exhibition of rancor or bitterness. Among my best and closest friends are many Catholics. The respect and regard of those of my fellow Americans who are Catholics are as dear to me as the respect and regard of those who are Protestants. On my journey through Africa I visited many Catholic as well as many Protestant missions. As I look forward to telling the people at home all that has been done by

Protestants and Catholics alike, as I saw it, in the field of missionary endeavor, it would cause me a real pang to have anything said or done that would hurt or give pain to my friends, whatever their religious belief. But any merely personal considerations are of no consequence in this matter. The important consideration is the avoidance of harsh and bitter comment such as may excite mistrust and anger between and among good men.

"The more an American sees of other countries the more profound must be his feelings of gratitude that in his own land there is not merely complete toleration but the heartiest good will and sympathy among sincere and honest men of different faiths—good will and sympathy so complete that in the innumerable daily relations of our American life Catholics and Protestants meet together and work together without thought of the difference of creed being even present in their minds.

"This is a condition so vital to our national wellbeing that nothing should be permitted to jeopardize it. Bitter comment and criticism, acrimonious attack and defense are not only profitless but harmful, and to seize upon such an incident as this as an occasion for controversy would be wholly indefensible and should be frowned upon by Catholics and Protestants alike, and all good Americans."

THE PAPAL DELEGATE SPEAKS.

His Excellency, Archbishop Diomedede Falconio, the Papal Delegate, issued this statement at Washington on April 4:

"It is certain that the Pope has the highest esteem for Colonel Roosevelt, both as a private individual and as

former President of the United States; also that he was looking forward with pleasure to meeting him. In the case of Colonel Roosevelt, as of Mr. Fairbanks, it was not at all a question of religion, but of the self-respect and dignity of the Apostolic See. Colonel Roosevelt could have gone to any other Protestant churches in Rome.

"After all that has been said it is unnecessary to insist that the Methodists' insulting agitation and offensive proselytism constitute a real warfare against the Holy Father and the Catholic religion, and that in the very heart of his ancient and venerable seat. It must be remembered that the Holy Father considers himself a sovereign ruler, and as such he is recognized by other nations. Besides, as the head of at least 250,000,000 Catholics, he has the right to special consideration and ought himself to be the very best judge of what that means. Every government has its etiquette or rules to protect the office and position of its ruler.

"The circumstances that in Rome the Methodists have organized themselves as an anti-Vatican party makes it impossible for the Holy Father to recognize them in any way, much less to strengthen them in the eyes of the Catholics of Italy. It is extremely unpleasant, to say the least, that this violent situation should have become public on the occasion of the visit to Rome of distinguished American citizens."

ARCHBISHOP IRELAND'S VIEW OF THE INCIDENT.

St. Paul, Minn., April 5.—Archbishop Ireland, after reading the report from Rome concerning the Roosevelt-Vatican incident, made the following statement:

"Before passing judgment on the Roosevelt incident in

Rome one should be thoroughly conversant with all attending circumstances, more so, indeed, than the statements appearing in the morning papers seemingly permit.

"Of one thing I am certain—the Methodist propaganda in Rome is so vile, so calumnious in its assaults upon the Catholic faith, so dishonest in its methods to win proselytes that the Holy Father, the supreme guardian of the faith, is compelled by the vital principles of his high office to avert, at all cost, the slightest movement on his part that might directly or indirectly, be interpreted as abetting the propaganda, or approving even by implication, its purposes and tactics.

"Since the Fairbanks incident I have received from Rome most reliable data, that more than justify any statement I have heretofore made or may at any other time be prepared to make, with regard to this Methodist propaganda. Indeed, the address of the Methodist minister in Rome, the Rev. Mr. Tipple, the Sunday after the Fairbanks incident, is an all-sufficient indication of its rancorous spirit and of the egregious calumnies to which it resorts.

"It is as clear as noonday to those who know the facts in connection with the Methodist Roman propaganda that any man, however otherwise worthy and illustrious, giving or likely to give, public recognition of any kind to its work, even to its existence, could not be received by the Holy Father.

"How far Cardinal Merry del Val had reason to suspect from the movements of the Methodists themselves, or otherwise, that there was peril lest Mr. Roosevelt, even unwittingly, be entangled in their meshes, I am not in a position to say. The Cardinal is a wise, judicious statesman, and must have well weighed the whole situa-

tion before he acted. His words deserve consideration. 'It is not,' he said, 'a question of religion.'

"Mr. Roosevelt might have gone to an Episcopalian, Presbyterian or any other church, except the Methodist and delivered an address there and he could have been received by the Pope on the same day. But he could not be received when it was suspected that, after the audience with the Pope, he intended to go to the Methodist Church in Rome, which is carrying on a most offensive campaign against the Pontiff."

His Grace concludes that Cardinal Merry del Val, guided by his knowledge of local circumstances, would take no risk; the honor of the Holy See must be safeguarded.

EDITORIAL COMMENTS ON THE "INCIDENT."

(From Rome, April 9.)

Mr. Roosevelt must have read the communication from Rome in a great hurry and answered it still more precipitately. After all he is only a private, if very distinguished, citizen, but the tone of his reply is that of one potentate addressing another. No exception, however, was taken to his tone or even to the entirely unnecessary allusion to the Vicar of Christ as the Head of "a great Church." But surely everybody must have been amazed on reading the following words: "I in my turn must decline to make any stipulations or to submit to any conditions which would in any way limit my freedom of conduct." Surely Mr. Roosevelt forgot that he was no longer in the wilds of Africa. Every man surrenders some of his liberty of conduct when he forms part of civilized society, and there is an old proverb that when

you come to Rome you must do as Rome does. True, that eccentric potentate the late Shah of Persia declined to accept the conditions laid down for the audience with Pope Leo XIII but then everybody laughed at him, and when the Emperor of Germany or the King of England come to Rome and prepare to visit the Holy Father they are scrupulously careful to observe the conditions prescribed for them. True again, last year one hoodlum who managed to enter the Holy Father's presence refused to comply with the etiquette of such occasion, but after all he was a hoodlum and not the ex-President of the United States. When Mr. Roosevelt returns to the land of liberty he will have to part once more with some of his cherished "liberty of conduct" or he will have trouble not only with the police but with decent society.

Mr. Roosevelt was politely informed of a wish of the Pontiff. His answer was that he still wanted to be received in audience but that he must be left perfectly free to insult the Head of the Catholic Church and the spiritual Father of eighteen millions of American Catholics! On the evening before his arrival in Rome his private secretary made an effort on his own responsibility to set things right. Had the Cardinal Secretary of State wished to stand on his dignity he would have declined to spend any of his valuable time on such an unaccredited ambassador—instead he received Mr. O'Laughlin with his usual kindness and courteously listened to what he had to say. What he did say was that if the audience were granted at the last hour, without any conditions, Mr. Roosevelt was as likely as not to do the very thing that had rendered Mr. Fairbanks' audience impossible although he knew that the Holy Father would be pained and offended by it. All this will perhaps seem incredible

but it is the simple truth, and it proves that while the representatives of the Holy Father showed every consideration for the ex-President of the United States, Mr. Roosevelt showed no consideration whatever either for them or for the Holy Father himself. He has addressed an open letter to the editor of the *Outlook* expressing the hope that no ill-feeling will be caused in America by the incident between himself and the Vatican. The advice is excellent. It is more Mr. Roosevelt's misfortune than his fault that with all his good qualities he has not been liberally endowed with a sense of the fitness of things, and Americans with their usual generosity will overlook this unfortunate episode in his career.

But it is another matter when Mr. Roosevelt says in his public statement: "I am quite sure that the great majority of my fellow-citizens, Catholics quite as much as Protestants, will feel that I acted in the only way possible for an American to act." On the contrary they will think that he had no business to ask for an audience unless he were prepared to observe an elementary principle of courtesy, they will think that when informed in a private telegram of the wish of the Holy Father it was singularly bad taste to declare that while he refused to respect this wish he trusted the Pope would still find it convenient to receive him, they will also find it very hard to understand why he should quote the following passage from Mgr. Kennedy's communication to the American ambassador "the audience could not now take place except on the understanding expressed in the former message," and omit the important explanation preceding it: "in view of circumstances for which neither His Holiness nor Mr. Roosevelt is responsible," and finally they will marvel at the queer absent-mindedness of the ex-

President who in one breath wrote for his paper: "If the Pope does not receive me I shall not for a moment question the propriety of his action" and in the next announced that "liberal Catholics here . . . endeavored to persuade the Vatican to recede from its erroneous position." Every year thousands of Americans are received in audience by His Holiness. But there have been only two Roosevelt incidents—or three if you count that of the boor above referred to. The real trouble is that Mr. Roosevelt was not willing to act like "the great majority of his fellow-citizens" when they wish to see the Pope, but wanted to be above all the laws and conventions which regulate the conduct of well-behaved persons from America and every other part of the world. He wanted more than the rights and privileges of an American citizen or of an European emperor; he was dazzled with his own importance, and could not conceive why any human being should venture to say "No," when he said "Yes," not because he is an American citizen but because he is Theodore Roosevelt.

(The New York Sun, April 5.)

In the Roosevelt version of the correspondence which ended in the refusal of the Pope to receive the ex-President the first message of Monsignor Kennedy, Rector of the American Catholic College in Rome, is given in full in one of Ambassador Leishman's despatches. Mr. Roosevelt's answer to this is also given in full. Then, in natural order, comes the subjoined condensation of the second communication from Monsignor Kennedy.

"On March 28 Ambassador Leishman sent Mr. Roosevelt a cable despatch which ended by saying that 'the

audience could not take place excepting on the understanding expressed in the former message.' ”

The effect produced on the reader of this sentence is that a curt and not courteous ultimatum was served on Mr. Roosevelt by the Rector of the American College, acting officially for his Holiness the Pope. This impression is increased by the next paragraph of the Roosevelt statement:

“Mr. Roosevelt sent the following cable despatch to Ambassador Leishman on March 29: ‘Proposed presentation is of course now impossible.’ ”

Thus the matter stands: The Pope with almost discourteous abruptness insists on the observance of certain conditions which are incompatible with the dignity and freedom of the applicant for a reception, and the applicant in just resentment properly and most pointedly refuses to submit. A laudable attitude and sure to provoke the applause of right feeling and liberal men of all religious faith.

But this is not the first time Mr. Roosevelt has given to the public correspondence revealing himself in an admirable position. What was the complete text of Monsignor Kennedy's second message? Was it abrupt, as the Roosevelt statement would lead us to believe? On this aspect of the case we have the statement of Monsignor Kennedy. It is prefaced by a significant remark:

“I notice that my second message is not fully given.”

With this as an introduction the Rector of the American College discloses the text of his second message, which was:

“His Holiness will be much pleased to grant an audience to Mr. Roosevelt, for whom he entertains great esteem both personally and as President of the United

States. His Holiness quite recognizes Mr. Roosevelt's entire right to freedom of conduct. On the other hand, in view of the circumstances, for which neither his Holiness nor Mr. Roosevelt is responsible, an audience could not occur except on the understanding expressed in the former message."

This puts a somewhat different face on the correspondence. There is no curtness, no discourtesy, no abruptness in this message. Instead, we find a compliment to Mr. Roosevelt personally, a pleasant allusion to the country from which he comes, a frank recognition of his complete freedom of action, and what without violence might be construed into a regret that circumstances beyond the power of the Pope or even of Theodore Roosevelt to alter, made it necessary for his Holiness not to recede from a position already taken. This, we repeat, is somewhat different from the idea conveyed by Mr. Roosevelt's condensed version of Monsignor Kennedy's note.

The Roosevelt version of this communication will be the more widely circulated of the two, a fact of which Mr. Roosevelt was well aware. The Kennedy correction will never overtake the mutilated statement. Suppression and evasion; they are among the most used and highly valued weapons in the arsenal of the Mighty Hunter. They have served him well in his own country. How will they answer his purpose in foreign lands?

(New York World, April 5.)

Mr. Roosevelt's megalomania never mounted to dizzy heights than when he implored the American people to treat the Vatican incident as "merely personal, and

above all as not warranting the slightest exhibition of rancor or bitterness."

We can assure Mr. Roosevelt that the American people are still calm and are bearing up bravely. Not a single resolution has been introduced in Congress directing the President to send the battleship fleet up the Tiber to shell Rome. The general feeling is one of sympathy with the Vatican in having missed "a perfectly corking time" on account of the restrictions of Papal etiquette.

Even if Mr. Roosevelt had not sent that impassioned cablegram to Dr. Abbott pleading for "the avoidance of harsh and bitter comment," we think the American people would have restrained themselves and gone to work as usual yesterday morning when the whistle blew. Although they have been compelled to struggle along for a year without Mr. Roosevelt's personal counsel, guidance and attention, most Americans are still rather more than half-witted. They know that the Vatican has certain rules that visitors are expected to comply with, and that visitors who do not wish to comply with these rules are not obliged to seek an audience with the Pope. They know too that it was Mr. Roosevelt who invited himself to the Vatican, and that he was wholly within his rights in deciding later that he could not accept the restrictions the Vatican sought to impose.

Mr. Roosevelt's cablegram to Dr. Abbott reads less like a plea for religious toleration than like a formal notice of his resumption of political activity. The Roosevelt mark is branded indelibly upon the incident. We recognize all the familiar tricks of the most versatile of living press agents.

It was on March 29 that Mr. Roosevelt decided not to visit the Vatican and cabled to Ambassador Leishman,

"Proposed presentation is, of course, now impossible." But no announcement was made. There was no hint of alleged arrangements. Mr. Roosevelt waited until he was in Rome and the centre of attention in the Eternal City. He waited until Sunday, knowing, as he knew when he was President, that Sunday night is the psychological time to make a sensational announcement, because the Monday newspapers are usually dull and "big news is played up for all it's worth." When all the stage-settings were in place the correspondents were called in, the cablegram was sent to the editor of the *Outlook*, and the civilized world knew that Theodore Roosevelt had resumed business at the old stand.

It was a highly dramatic method of notifying the country that the centre of the stage was again occupied by the only political actor worthy of the star part. But why drag in religion?

(*The New York Globe*, April 4.)

The trouble recently ruffling Egypt has moved over to Italy. As the weather man would put it, the disturbance a few days ago in the neighborhood of Cairo is now central over Rome. Last week it was necessary to instruct the Nationalists of Egypt concerning their duty; now it is the Pope who is the pupil and feels over his knuckles the rap of the ferule. Fallières of France, the Kaiser of Germany, and Edward of England may as well brace themselves to display their prettiest behavior. The universal schoolmaster is still on his travels, and other capitals are included in his itinerary.

The latest instance shows again that Mr. Roosevelt is still Mr. Roosevelt. We have excuse for the same line of comment that has followed his sensational career.

The thing done is well enough, but oh! the way in which it is done! The diplomacy of the Vatican, by a tradition established by centuries, is pussy-footed, but even it was not skilful enough to tread softly when the great row-maker got within striking distance. The first notification received by Merry del Val was the sound of breaking crockery. And when the sound is at its height Mr. Roosevelt despatches a characteristic message to America to the effect that he hopes that the incident will be regarded as purely a "personal" one, and that it will not warrant "the slightest exhibition of rancor or bitterness." At the same hour all the documents bearing on the case are given to the waiting newspaper corps.

That Mr. Roosevelt should decline to agree to conditions limiting his right to speak when and where he pleases may be readily understood. The idea of having it suggested to him that he should consent to the editing of his conduct! No wonder he was indignant. Moreover, Mr. Fairbanks was his colleague in office, and the name of Mr. Fairbanks having been mentioned in the notes, Mr. Roosevelt was compelled to line up with him. In this country the Catholic vote is important, but so is the Methodist, and it behooves a man who may again be in politics to be careful against raising religious prejudice himself. But granting all this, and that it was necessary for the ex-President to forego the pleasure of kissing the Pope's hand, why was it necessary to make such a noise about it all?

(The New York Evening Journal, April 5.)

There is much nonsense talked by clergymen who shall not be advertised here—to the effect that the Pope had no right to make any such request of Mr. Roosevelt.

But the Pope had a perfect right to make the request. The Pope does not distinguish between Protestant and Catholic. He puts nothing in the way of any visitor to the Vatican or to himself living up to his particular religious beliefs in Rome.

He believes himself to be insulted and discourteously treated by a certain religious organization which has chosen to establish itself outside the door of the Vatican—in which the Pope lives a prisoner.

And he certainly has a right to say that he does not care to receive as personal visitors those that by their presence countenance the intruders who have done so much to disturb his peace.

* * *

The Pope is an old man, who much against his will, with great detriment to his health and happiness and life, has taken on his shoulders the heavy burden of the Papacy, giving up sadly his home and work in Venice.

Mr. Roosevelt understands conditions well enough to know that the Pope is bound absolutely by his duty, bound to a great extent by traditions extending through centuries, bound to protect and respect in the most minute details, and regardless of the greatness or personal importance of any lion killer, the susceptibilities and the deep devotion of his followers throughout the world.

The Pope lives a prisoner, confined in the Vatican because of his convictions. He is now a recluse, shut within narrow walls in a city where his predecessors were rulers and temporal sovereigns.

Mr. Roosevelt, free to fly from continent to continent and from one excitement to another, might dwell with deep sympathy, with very great respect, upon the burdens

and the position of that white-haired old man, a prisoner for life, striving earnestly and in a dignified way to protect the great trust laid upon him, and to uphold honorably the traditions and customs of one of the greatest offices that the world has known.

Mr. Roosevelt, it is true, is the former President of eighty millions of people. But he is a private citizen today.

The Pope, on the other hand, is the absolute spiritual director, and to a very great extent the temporal adviser and director of two hundred and fifty millions of Catholics.

It would not have been too much for Mr. Roosevelt to think over matters carefully before duplicating the unfortunate and unnecessary incident in which Mr. Fairbanks figured with so little credit to himself.

The people will follow Mr. Roosevelt's advice, they will not become excited about this matter, and we shall not have Americans, Protestant or Catholic, indulging in foolish religious disputes.

But it would have been just as well if Mr. Roosevelt had not sent that foolish message asking the people to take calmly what is of no importance whatever.

And it would have been better still if Mr. Roosevelt had shown to the Pope the respect and the courtesy that he himself so energetically demands from others.

(The New York Evening Post, April 4.)

We cannot feel too grateful to Theodore Roosevelt for his thoughtfulness in advising the American people how to think about this dreadful catastrophe in Rome. We are really inclined to believe that we should have had

Orange riots in the streets of New York to-day and the burning of a Catholic church or two in Kansas if this calm, manly, high-minded telegram from Rome had not appeared simultaneously with the shocking news that the Pope and Mr. Roosevelt will not meet. Well, we are sure it is the Pope who will lose. He cannot step out of the Vatican and stand on the street corner and watch this Yankee hero like any other Roman. And to miss the grasp of the mighty hunter's hand and hear his assurance that he did visit every Catholic mission within reach, just as he visited the Protestant missions; that on the one hand he loves his Catholic fellow-citizens and on the other he loves the Protestant and Hebrew fellow-citizens just as much. Later on, we are sure, when the Pope reads this magnificent telegram, he will repent in sackcloth and ashes. As for the American public, it will never forget that Mr. Roosevelt prevented an outraged Protestant country from rising in its wrath and inaugurating a religious warfare. Its citizens will to-day speak kindly to their Catholic friends, as he wishes, and put their revolvers back into their holsters.

ROOSEVELT AT ROME.

(*The Philadelphia Public Ledger*, April 5.)

That the ex-President would have another "corking time" when he got to Rome was expected. One who has kept the limelight steadily upon him as he moved through Africa could not be obscured in the world's ancient capital. But he has not even waited to arrive there. It is from Naples that he cables an address to the American people, assuring them of his own great breadth of mind and imploring them not to grow excited upon

his account. Wherever he may be, he holds the centre of the stage, and we are not permitted to forget him for a moment.

Any ordinary American tourist who sought an interview with the Pope would cheerfully acquiesce in whatever rules the Pope or his representatives thought proper to impose; or, if he could not accept the conditions, would decline the interview and say no more about it. Not so with the ex-President. Though the whole matter was purely personal and concerned no one but himself, he makes it an occasion for a grand gallery play and magnifies it into an incident of national importance. The whole offense, beyond the unjustifiable publication of personal correspondence, is in his preposterous proclamation to the American people.

There could be no controversy between the Vatican and Mr. Roosevelt in a matter in which each party was entirely within its rights. Mr. Roosevelt had no official or other claim to be received by the Pope. The Pope could receive him or not, as he pleased, or in any way he pleased, and Mr. Roosevelt could either go or stay away. After the innocent but not less unfortunate incident of the ex-Vice President, and in view of the ex-President's attested capacity for proffering unasked advice, one cannot say that Monsignor Kennedy's precautionary suggestion was unreasonable. It did not in any way limit Mr. Roosevelt's "freedom of conduct." It merely intimated that in the Pope's willingness to receive him it was assumed that nothing would in the meanwhile occur to impair their mutual cordiality.

It appears to have been Mr. Leishman, the American Ambassador at the Quirinal, who had no official relation with the matter whatever, that found this reason-

able condition "objectionable." The publication of all the correspondence is very naturally regarded with "surprise" at the Vatican, and probably with some uneasiness at the State Department also. If Mr. Roosevelt did not care to give assurance that he would accept the conditions, no fault can be found with him. It was wholly his own individual affair, whether he should go to the Vatican or not. To bring the diplomatic service into it and to parade the matter before the world, and to make it the text of a self-laudatory sermon upon "toleration," is more offensive than anything he could conceivably have said at Rome.

But such is the power of advertising, in these days, such is the glamour of publicity, that Mr. Roosevelt will probably receive a great amount of credit for an episode that any other man would have preferred to pass over in silence. Those who admire him least must acknowledge the extraordinary skill with which he turns even the most unpromising occasion to make himself the focus of wondering attention. And he is now only upon the threshold of Europe. Wherever he has stopped, and sometimes even before his arrival, he has made a disturbance. By the time he has visited Vienna and Budapest, Paris, Brussels, Berlin, the Scandinavian capitals, and long before he has reached London, the ordinary mind will falter in contemplating the havoc of diplomatic courtesies along his illuminated path.

THE REV. MR. TIPPLE AND THE METHODISTS.

If proof were needed of the hostile and offensive propaganda of the Methodists in Rome, that proof was opportunely furnished by the Methodists themselves, through their leader, Rev. Bertrand M. Tipple. He issued two manifestoes, one exhibiting the sad spectacle of a Christian minister gloating over the defection of Catholics from the faith of their fathers, the other unfolding the nature of religious toleration which Methodists demand for themselves in Catholic countries.

His first manifesto was issued in Rome by the Rev. M. Tipple, on April 4.

"We had the fullest confidence that Mr. Roosevelt would do the right thing in Rome.

"While the work of Methodism in Rome started the rumpus, it is no longer Methodism, or any other ism, but the great principle of toleration. Mr. Roosevelt has struck a mighty blow for twentieth century Christianity.

"The representatives of two great republics have been the ones to put the Vatican where it belongs. President Loubet refused to accede to Vatican conditions, and now Mr. Fairbanks and Mr. Roosevelt come to maintain the dignity and independence of American manhood in the face of Vatican tyranny.

"The Vatican is incompatible with republican principles. This is a bitter dose for patriotic Catholics in America to swallow. I wonder how many doses of this sort they will take before they revolt? Is Catholicism in America to be American or Romish? If Romish, then every patriotic American should rise to crush it, for Roman Catholicism is the uncompromising foe of freedom.

"After the Fairbanks episode the Methodists never

dreamed that the Vatican would commit a similar blunder with Mr. Roosevelt. That it has done so is added proof that the policy prevailing there is the same yesterday, to-day and forever. The Vatican is the Vatican. The world advances, but the Vatican never.

"Americans can now better understand how it is that the Roman Church has lost France, the men of Italy, and is losing Spain and Austria."

On April 5, he added the following:

"The losses of the Catholic Church in Italy, during the last two years especially have been truly enormous. The Italians by thousands have abandoned the religion of their fathers. Absolutely impotent to arrest the progress of anticlericalism, the Vatican has become more and more exasperated until, abandoning all restraint, it has made itself ridiculous in the eyes of all cultured Italians and of the world. Fifty years ago Methodism entered Italy armed with the Bible, with a Christ, and with a program of instruction for the masses. To-day the Vatican with its own hands has set the seal of success on this work. It has made known to the world that it asked for but one promise from Theodore Roosevelt: that he would not go near the Methodists during his stay in Rome. Mr. Roosevelt refused to accept it. Nothing could have better illustrated our work than this action of the Vatican. To be thus excommunicated by the Catholic hierarchy, means to gain the name of 'friends of the Roman people.' It is to be noted that Mr. Roosevelt refused to approve the accusations against the Methodists of Rome."

So far was he from "approving the accusations against

the Methodists of Rome" that "Mr. Roosevelt, instead," says *Rome*, "proceeded to hit Mr. Tipple on the head with his famous 'big stick,' but that is not the point here. It will be observed that this Christian minister is quite happy over 'the truly enormous losses' of the Catholic Church to the enemies of all religion. Fifty years ago the Methodists began to spend millions of dollars on the perversion of Italian Catholics, and every year since then they have been sending home highly decorated accounts of their success, but the simple truth is that they have failed utterly to make any permanent impression." In *Rome* for September 7, 1907, we were able to cull the following facts from their own official report:

"In Italy and Italian Switzerland there are about 34,000,000 of people, and the Methodists among them, including both members and probationers, total exactly 3,449; Rome, which is well over the half million mark, contains two hundred and sixty-six members and probationers. How many of the 3,449 and the 266 are Italians, and how many of them are Americans, English, Germans, etc., we do not pretend even to guess, but taking them all as Italians we reach some interesting results. It will be found that the present Methodist following in Italy has cost about 7,000 francs per head; that the half million francs spent on Italian Methodism last year has resulted in a net gain over the numbers of the previous year of just 75 persons, which works out at 6,666 francs for very additional Methodist; that at the same rate of expenditure and the same rate of progress it will take 12,500,000,000 (twelve billion five hundred million) francs and 36,000 (thirty-six thousand) years to convert the Italian people from the errors of Popery to the light of Methodism. Unfortunately there are several flaws in

the calculation, for we find that in some respects, Italian Methodism is going back.

"The last report, for instance, announces that there were 32 native preachers in the field, whereas the previous one registered 55; we note also that in the space of one brief year these 32, aided by the nine foreign missionaries of Methodism, baptized as many as 2 (two) adult, and 86 (eighty-six) infant Italian Methodists, while in the previous year the number of adults were no fewer than 5 (five) and of infants 87 (eighty-seven). This means a diminution of 6 baptisms in the year—but it must be remembered that there were 23 fewer missionaries to do the work."

So much for the success of the Methodists in making proselytes. It will be seen that they are much more successful in collecting dollars and in beating the big drum. In this department they are eminently practical.

It is not the success of the Methodists which makes them an object of aversion to all rightminded persons in Rome, but rather because, as Archbishop Ireland so well expressed it last Monday, "the Methodist propaganda in Rome is so vile, so calumnious in its assaults upon the Catholic faith, so dishonest in its methods to win proselytes that the Holy Father is compelled by the vital principles of his high office to avert at all cost the slightest movement on his part that might directly or indirectly be interpreted as abetting the propaganda or approving even by implication its purposes and tactics."

The *Asino* is perhaps the foulest paper printed anywhere, and its loathsome attacks on the Holy Father and on religion horrify even the Protestants who see it, yet recently the *Asino* was able to quote from the *Evangelista*, the organ of the Methodists in Rome, an article in which

the Methodists hold out the hand of fellowship even to the obscene *Asino*.

"There are fields of common activity," writes the *Evangelista*, "in which we can give one another the hand of brotherhood in the holy war on the heresy and obscurantism of Romanism."

That fact alone speaks volumes for the tactics to which Archbishop Ireland refers.

After all, it was just as well that Roosevelt was not received by the Holy Father, for if he didn't fall into the pit dug by the Methodists he tripped over the cord drawn for him by the Roman Freemasons.

We all know that, whatever Freemasonry may be in America, here in Italy and in Rome its sole *raison d' être* at present is insidious war on the Church and on religion. Its members are all anticlericals, it inspires most of the attacks made on the Holy See and on the Pope, it was at the back of the infamous campaign of "clerical" scandals let loose upon the country three years ago, it is working to bring the Church in Italy to the plight to which it has reduced it in France.

Possibly this is one of the many things which Mr. Roosevelt does not know, but it would certainly have been painful for American Catholics to read how an hour or two after his audience with the Holy Father their ex-President was patting the Roman Freemasons on the back.

Under the suggestive title, "Tippletude," the *Independent* of April 14th says:

Since Dr. Burchard added a new word to politics we have hardly had a more notable case of inept and suicidal blundering than that which will for a long while

give distinction to the name of the Rev. B. M. Tipple, D.D., Pastor of the Methodist American Church at Rome. . . . Somewhat similar to the original Burcharism is Mr. Tipple's senseless outbreak, although it has lighter consequences. So far as the public could know, the Methodist Mission in Rome had had a fine advertisement, and the veto put on Mr. Roosevelt by the Vatican had aroused criticism of the Pope rather than of the Methodist Mission, which could have nothing to complain of. It might presumably be all that was good, doing an excellent work, arousing animosity only because of its success. But just then burst in the voice of Tipple, and such a voice!

A favorite Turkish story is of the man who was asked to lend his donkey, but who replied that while he would be glad to do so, he could not, as it was in the neighboring village. Just then, from the other side of the partition, came the bray of the ass, and the neighbor said: 'Why, there is the donkey in the stable.' 'You infidel,' replied the owner, 'to take the word of an ass against that of a follower of the Prophet.' No less untimely and disconcerting, following Mr. Roosevelt's warning against religious bitterness, was the intrusive raucity that instantly destroyed the satisfaction with which the friends of the mission were considering the situation.

VATICAN ETIQUETTE.

(*America*, April 9.)

The climax of sensations in Mr. Roosevelt's progress through Europe will be difficult to sustain after his failure to obtain unconditionally a special audience with Pope Pius X. Apparently his advance agents have

bungled the affair. He surely would never have thought of seeking a reception at the Vatican without scrupulously complying with the etiquette of the papal court. His critics have blamed him for many faults; but they have never accused him of not knowing the proprieties. In Berlin he will not think of visiting Emperor William, and straightway addressing a Socialist gathering in favor of their suffrage program; he will not meet Fallières, in Paris, and then seek an opportunity of telling the French people that, compared to ours, their republic is a despotic oligarchy. In London, he will not go to St. James, and next to the Home Rulers to tell them they are right in frustrating the measures of the government. What should we think of the distinguished foreigner who, after an audience with President Taft, would go to the nearest rendezvous to encourage his insurgent opponents to a more strenuous antagonism. No one can appreciate the impropriety of such tactics more than Mr. Roosevelt. He has no special sympathy with Methodism; and surely he must with all sober-minded observers know and deprecate their offensive proselytism in the name of their religion in Rome. Above all, if it be true that the outlook of his present course is bounded solely by the political horizon, he or his advisers should know since the Fairbanks incident, that public opinion appreciates too well the rule of the Vatican for special audiences to side too readily with anyone who will not respect its etiquette.

LESSON OF THE FAIRBANKS INCIDENT.

Regrettable as the Fairbanks incident was, it has had the happy result of disseminating through the press of the country some very useful information about the sig-

nificance of an audience with the Pope and the character of the Methodist propaganda in Rome. The millions of our non-Catholic fellow-countrymen who have grown to believe that the power and influence of the papacy was a thing of the past have been surprised to learn that few persons of importance go to Rome without seeking as a distinguished favor an audience with the spiritual head of Christendom. They go to pay homage to his transcendent influence as a moral power even among men and peoples who do not accept his teachings, or comprehend the exalted character of his authority. They hear many utterances from his august lips, but one thing they never hear and that is the slightest painful or disturbing reference to their own religious sentiment, or, as it may be, to their lack of religious faith. In sharp contrast with his truly paternal, tolerant spirit is the offensive and intolerant proselytism of the Methodists in Rome, seizing every opportunity to insult the Vatican, as Mr. Tipple did so blatantly after interviewing Mr. Roosevelt this very week, and resorting to the altogether un-American system of the soup-house, to entice a few needy Italians to their meetings.

PRESS-AGENT DIPLOMACY.

Smarting under the rebuke they had received when Mr. Fairbanks was denied an audience at the Vatican, the Methodist proselytizers in Rome were very naturally determined to make it awkward for Mr. Roosevelt to obtain his audience. They have not concealed their purpose to put him on record as pro-papal in case he should meet the Holy Father and not honor them with a visit. This the Vatican knew very well, and no other course

was left open to the Cardinal Secretary of State than to insist on an agreement that Mr. Roosevelt should not express his regard for the Pope one hour and for his declared enemies the next. In the light of information we have received from Rome, it is unjust to suggest that Mgr. Kennedy, of the American College, acting as intermediary, might have refrained from asking Mr. Roosevelt to say that he would not visit the Methodist body in Rome. The Methodists themselves had forced that issue on the Vatican, and it was imperative that Mr. Roosevelt should declare whether he intended to accept or decline their invitation. He, or to speak more correctly, his agents decided not to respect the etiquette of the Vatican with the result that his audience with the Pope became impossible. It appears that his advisers were of the opinion that the Vatican authorities would relent, and make an exception in his case; for as soon as it became manifest that he must observe the proprieties or lose his audience, overtures were made by his private secretary to Cardinal Merry del Val, intimating that he would comply with requirements but that the conditions mentioned in Mgr. Kennedy's messages need not be expressly exacted. It was too late. The Vatican is above the press-agent diplomacy. Through their blundering the ex-President lost the supreme opportunity of his homeward progress.

REDEEMING THE SITUATION.

The press agent had blundered; the press agent must redeem the situation. Forthwith a message must come to the world through the *Outlook* that Mr. Roosevelt is only a private citizen; that his inability to satisfy the

Vatican authorities is only a personal matter ; that he was actuated by a spirit of American independence ; that he was championing religious toleration, and other similar sentiments available for such critical occasions. It is true that Mr. Roosevelt is only a private citizen, but the press of the United States is treating him as if he were the paramount personage of the country ; his agents are using every means to constitute him our chief representative citizen as well as emeritus official ; the twaddle about American independence and religious toleration is again the press agent playing to the gallery. How is it that the crowned heads of Europe can pay homage to Pius X without forfeiting their independence ? Why do not the Methodists in Rome, Mr. Tipple, for instance, respect the principles of religious toleration ? Mr. Roosevelt's cable message to the *Outlook* shows that he is ill-advised by a secretary and press agents who seem to be making use of him to play politics at too long a range.

PRESS COMMENTS.

The leading newspapers of this country have not only reported this matter fairly as the facts came out ; they have also commented upon it editorially with an insight which leaves no question about the responsibility for the blunder. Tempting as Mr. Roosevelt's Monday morning cable was, they heroically refrained from comment until they had heard the other side from their own agents abroad. So illuminating and impartial are the views they express that we gladly devote an unusual space to extracts from the press in this issue. The interview with the Cardinal Secretary of State, as cabled to the *New York Sun*, is eminently satisfactory ; the editorials from

the *World* and the *Evening Journal* voice the sentiment of every reasonable American. The effort to blame the Rector of the American College in Rome for the blunder has failed lamentably, as appears very clearly in the interview of the *Sun's* correspondent with Cardinal Merry del Val, and in its own editorial.

(*Il Resegone*, April 23.)

A letter is reproduced in *Il Resegone* of Lecco, Italy, from Vico Mantegazza, prominent among the Liberals, and anything but a crony of churchmen, in which he says: "I think that my open avowal will not cost me the esteem of my readers when I say that I don't understand very well what those 'Methodists' are and what they want to do. Some days ago, as I was walking along the XX Settembre street, examining books, I stopped in front of a show-case which belongs to the Methodist book store. Some of the books thus displayed have such titles as these: 'Infamies of the Popes,' 'Filth of the Pontiffs,' 'The Pope must be Driven Out,' and there are others like them.

"Frankly, it strikes me as very natural that one in high authority should think that the Pope ought not to receive in audience those Americans who, the day after or the day before, may take part in meetings where such topics may be treated. After the Fairbanks precedent, the doubt about what might happen could not be shelved. And from the moment when Roosevelt was unwilling to give the desired assurances, is it not natural that the Vatican should have signified its unwillingness to receive him? For this very reason, perhaps, the city authorities have seen fit to give a special character to the welcome

and reception tendered to the ex-President. They believed that they were entertaining an anticlerical and therefore they must do more than is commonly done in honor of a distinguished guest."

MR. LEISHMAN BLAMED.

(*America*, May 14, 1910.)

A startling bit of information comes to us from Italy, which throws new light on Mr. Roosevelt's conduct in the Vatican incident, though by no means exonerating him or rendering unmerited the severe criticisms of the American press. The editor of that reliable paper, *Rome*, informs us that Mr. Roosevelt was led into his deplorable mistake by Mr. Leishman, the American Ambassador. As an answer to the Colonel's request for an audience at the Vatican, Mr. Leishman sent the following communication which he had duly received from the Rector of the American College: "The Holy Father will be delighted to grant an audience to Mr. Roosevelt on April 5, and he hopes nothing will arise to prevent it, such as the much-regretted incident which made the reception of Mr. Fairbanks impossible."

This was the only part of his communication which Mr. Leishman gave to the press. No one ever suspected that he had adroitly suppressed a most important addition of his own, which for obvious reasons he did not care to have published. But Mr. Roosevelt has since made good the omission.

"I merely transmit this communication," said Mr. Leishman, "without having committed you in any way to accept the conditions imposed, as the *form appears ob-*

jectionable, clearly indicating that an audience would be cancelled in case you should take any action while here that might be construed as countenancing the Methodist work here as in the case of Mr. Fairbanks. *Although fully aware of your intention to confine your visit to the King and the Pope the covert threat in the Vatican's communication to you is none the less objectionable*, and one side or other is sure to make capital out of the action you might take. The press is already preparing for the struggle."

What Mr. Roosevelt would have done had he been allowed to read and interpret Mgr. Kennedy's message for himself, is now a matter of speculation; he could hardly fail to see the kindly intent. It remained for Mr. Leishman, an ally of continental Freemasons and an enemy of the papacy, to discern a "covert threat" and giving a sinister interpretation to a most courteous and respectful invitation to thrust the same on one lately emerged from the jungle and unacquainted with the happenings in Europe during his protracted expedition. Mr. Leishman should never have taken part in the affair. Mr. Roosevelt, on his own representation, was coming to Rome as a private citizen. The official interference of the Ambassador had the sanction neither of law nor custom. His duty is to keep aloof from all negotiations with the Vatican and to use the influence of his position solely for matters affecting the relations between Washington and the Quirinal.

Every fair-minded reader of this suppressed addition to the message will be filled with indignation at the unwarranted interjection of a hostile commentary and with contempt for the disingenuousness displayed in suppressing it. The Vatican was *not* informed of Mr. Roose-

velt's intention to "confine himself to a visit to the King and the Pope." One may reasonably doubt whether any such intention ever existed, for Mr. Roosevelt received the Freemasons and delivered an address at a public banquet in the Capitol. Mr. Leishman's activity does little credit to himself and is a reflection on the Administration; his officiousness belittles his high office and gives offence to millions of American Catholic citizens and countless others who share their views.

A ROMAN SUNDAY.

(*The Saturday Review, London.*)

On the afternoon of this day (Sunday, February 20), a rowdy procession was formed of between 10,000 and 20,000 persons, among them, according to *The Temps*, an unusual gathering of Italian functionaries, of members of Parliament, of notorious rather than celebrated journalists and lawyers, and of almost every noted Freemason in Rome bearing his masonic emblem. These people were, one and all, anarchists and revolutionaries, anti-clerical and anti-everything. They carried banners which bore blasphemous and seditious inscriptions, and the number of revolutionary flags was so great that we are assured "they looked like a river of blood and fire pouring down the streets through the modern city to the city of the past." The procession formed at the railway station, passed through the principal streets, and eventually reached the statue erected in the Piazza dei Fiori to the notorious pantheist, Giordano Bruno. Here revolutionary speeches of a most violent description were delivered, notably by Podrecca, the editor of the unspeak-

able *Asino*, and by Barziha, a wealthy Jew Socialist member of Parliament. These violent attacks on the Pope, the Church and the monarchy were endorsed by Mayor Nathan, who expressed on behalf of the municipal bloc his hearty sympathy with the demonstration. Lastly, Prince Gaetani, the renegade head of that great historical house to which belonged Pope Boniface VIII, attempted to address the meeting, but the audience, considering him an apostate to his order and religion, told him so very plainly and shouted him down. In the meantime the "Internationale," the "Song of the Workers," Mameli's "Hymn" and other revolutionary chants were howled in chorus and then came the usual cries of "Down with the Pope!" "Death to religion!" "Down with Austria!" "Death to Christ!" "Neither God nor master!" "Death to the King!" "Death to the Queen!"

After a sort of ritual ceremony performed before the statue of their idol, Giordano Bruno, the mob wished to pay a visit to the Austrian Embassy in the Piazz di Spagna, but here the troops barred their passage. They were, however, contrary to precedent, allowed to cross the bridge with impunity and proceed almost to the very doors of the Vatican, to within earshot of the Pope's windows. The headquarters of the demonstrators, which have been recently removed from the centre of Rome to a house near the Porta Angelica, within a stone's throw of His Holiness' apartments, were decorated for the occasion from top to bottom with black and scarlet flags and blasphemous and disloyal inscriptions. In order that His Holiness should hear their opprobrious cries, several scoundrels used horns and megaphones, and in the course of the evening a searchlight was thrown into the windows of the Pope's private apartment, the better to attract his

attention to the outrageous illuminated inscriptions that appeared above their meeting house.

The Italian police never interfered, and the beastly crew were allowed to insult and annoy the Pontiff for over an hour in a manner which would not have been tolerated had he been a private individual, however criminal and obnoxious.



Callistus III and Halley's Comet*

Translated from the French of

J. STEIN, S.J.

1 Introduction.

It may perhaps not be useless to discuss anew a question which has, of late, been treated incompletely by several daily papers and magazines. "One of the most spectacular apparitions of Halley's famous comet was chronicled in 1456. It has been alleged *ad nauseam* that Pope Callistus III levelled the thunderbolts of the Vatican against the disturbing star with a view to warding off from Christendom, at that time threatened by the Turks, the various calamities presaged by this brilliant meteor. This fable, silly though it be, is often met with in the most reputable authors and, strange to say, even in scientific works."

Thus did Father Delsaulx, S.J., in 1859, begin the excellent article (1) in which he treats clearly and skillfully the theme which we are about to attack. Though fifty years have intervened, I feel justified in using these same words again, now that general attention is focussed upon that celebrated comet, which has just re-

* [The notes in this translation are condensed from the original "Calixte III et la Comète de Halley," published by the Tipografia Poliglotta Vaticana, Rome, 1909.—ED. CATHOLIC MIND].

(1) J. Delsaulx, S.J., *Calixte III et la Comète de Halley*. Collection de précis historiques, par Ed. Terwecoren, S.J., Bruxelles, 1859, 8^e année, 301-5.

vealed itself anew. During the past few years several writers have applied themselves to discover the origin and foundation of this fable which for more than a century has been periodically reproduced. Among others might be mentioned the names of Father Kneller, S.J., Mr. Lynn, Father Gerard, S.J., Mr. G. F. Chambers, Prof. Sampson. We also mention the article of Father Ch. de Smedt, S.J., "L'Eglise et la Science," (*Revue des Quest. Scient.*, I, 107) in which he devotes a few pages to this subject. It appears that not one of these writers was acquainted with Father Delsaulx's article; they would have found therein many items of extreme interest.

Two reasons have prompted me to venture upon the same theme. First, I purposed giving a general idea of what others have discovered, and, if need be, of rectifying their discoveries; secondly, I had cherished the hope of attaining a decisive result through new researches carried on in the Vatican Library and Archives. The reader will himself judge if I have succeeded in this double task.

2 Historical Facts.

THE WAR AGAINST THE TURKS.—Let me begin by setting down some facts and dates. On the 29th of May, 1453, the Turks gained possession of Constantinople. On the 30th of September of the same year, Pope Nicholas V issued a solemn letter of appeal to the Christian Kings, soliciting them to undertake a crusade. His successor, Callistus III (1455-1458), sent his legates to the different countries, again entreating the princes to engage in the struggle against the relentless enemy of Christianity. Not meeting with any response, on account of the ego-tism that reigned everywhere, Callistus, forsaken by men, had recourse to God. The 29th of June, 1456, witnessed

the promulgation of a bull in which the Pope ordered public prayers that prompt help might be forthcoming against the impending danger. On the 22d of the following July, the army which Callistus had mustered gained a signal victory over the Turks in the battle of Belgrade.

Mansi has thus chronicled the events as they succeeded each other in the East:

Varied as is the account of historians, in this they are all agreed, namely, that the siege, begun by the Turks at Taurunum (Belgrade) on the 4th day of July culminated in a naval battle on the Danube, the 14th day of the same month, and that the Christians gained the day by a victory noted rather for its consequences than for prowess. The Turks faced a loss of five hundred men killed, three of their triremes sunk, four captured. On the other hand, however, with the road from the Danube to the Citadel clear, the enemy had an advantage. The Turks made an attack on the fortress the night before the feast of St. Mary Magdalene, but, repelled with great carnage, they despaired of capturing it. On the following day (July 22nd) the Christians renewed their attack on the Turks and routed them. This proved the climax of it all, this the victory of the Christians over the Turks.

HALLEY'S COMET.—This same year, 1456, Halley's Comet appeared. The Chinese had already observed it on the 27th of May. In Italy it was first espied in early June. The valuable observations of Paolo Toscanelli, a native of Florence, extend from the 8th of June to the 8th of July. Prof. Celoria, of Milan, availing himself of these observations, calculated the orbit and found the comet passed through perihelion on the first of these dates. From these observations of Toscanelli, reduced by Celoria, we have a rough approximation in mean solar time, of the time of the rising and setting of the comet as seen in Rome:

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	Comet rising	Sun rising	Comet setting	Sun setting	Comet visible
1456	Morning		Night		
June 9th—1h.55m.		4h.26m.	7h.20m.	7h.32m.	morning
June 16th—3h.15m.		4h.26m.	10h.20m.	7h.35m.	{ morning and night
June 22d—6h.55m.		4h.26m.	11h.10m.	7h.37m.	
June 28th—8h.50m.		4h.28m.	11h. 0m.	7h.37m.	night
July 4th—9h.20m.		4h.31m.	10h.35m.	7h.37m.	night

In the second half of June the comet was found to be in perigee and remained visible in all its splendor for more than three hours after sundown. It is a well established fact that the eyes of all Rome were upon it. According to report it was extraordinarily large, terrifying, with a tail spanning two signs of the Zodiac, that is, 60 degrees. The color of the tail was golden, though at other times and possibly in other places it had a pale and whitish appearance. It sometimes resembled a sparkling flame, and this is apparently what gave rise to the conjecture that it was surmounted by several smaller stars. Its appearance both in the morning and evening explains away the error of some writers reporting the apparition of two different comets.

The star was still visible during the early days of July, therefore, at the beginning of the siege of Belgrade by the Turks; but contemporary documents place it beyond doubt that on the 22d of July, the date of the decisive victory of the Christians, it had ceased to be visible for some days.

In the old records which I had to consult I read many accounts, and some of them full of details, of persons engaged in the battle of Belgrade, and nowhere did I find a single allusion to the comet. Adopting the elements of the orbit, as calculated by Celoria, I find the following geocentric coördinates of the comet for the epoch 1456, July 21.5 (mean solar time for Paris, old style):

Right ascension $182^{\circ} 40'$ } Equinox 1456.5
 Declination $1^{\circ} 11'$ }

Distance from the earth, 1.507 Astronomical units.

Distance from the sun, 1.061 Astronomical units.

The geographical latitude and longitude of Belgrade being $44^{\circ} 48'$, 1 h. 12 m. 5 E. of Paris respectively, we have at Belgrade for July 21st apparent sunset at 7 h. 20 m. (true time), apparent setting of comet about 9 h. 45 m. (true time). The head of the comet thus set more than two hours after sunset.

These data are not sufficient to decide *a priori* the question whether the comet was visible or not on the evening of July 21st; on the other hand, admitting the historical fact that it had not been seen for several days, we conclude that it had pretty quickly lost its great brilliancy. This is fully borne out by the Chinese annals, the exactness of which is universally acknowledged. These read as follows:

"In the 7th year, of the same epoch (1456), the 4th moon, day 'Jin Seuh' (May 27), a comet was seen to the northeast, in 'S. D. Wei' (determined by the stars in Musca). *It was 2 cubits in length*, and pointed towards the southwest. In the 5th moon, day 'Kwei Yew' (June 7), *it gradually lengthened to about 10 cubits*. On the day 'Woo Tsze' (June 22), it was seen to the northwest in 'S. D. Lew' (determined by *d, e, ds, th*, Hydræ). *It was then about 9 cubits in length*. It swept over the stars 'Heen Yuen' (Regulus and stars in Leo and Leo minor). On the day 'Kea Woo' (June 28), it was seen in 'S. D. Chang' (determined by *k, l, m*, etc., Hydræ). *It was then about 7 cubits in length*. It swept the north of 'Tae Wei.' It went to the southwest. In the 6th moon, day 'Jin Sin' (July 6), it entered 'Tae Wei Yuen' (space between stars in Leo and Virgo). *It was then about 1 cubit in length.*"

Thus, according to these annals, the maximum length of the comet's tail was 10 cubits, corresponding to the 60° mentioned in several chronicles. On the 28th day of June the length was still about 42° . From then on, it very rapidly shrank in eight days to six degrees on the 6th of July.

3 The Legend.

After these historical facts, here is what several modern writers relate. Laplace writes in his *Exposition du Système du Monde*:

"Let us remark, to the advantage of the progress of the human mind, that this comet which has excited the liveliest interest during this century amongst geometers and astronomers, was seen in a far different manner, four revolutions before, in 1456. The long tail trailing after it spread terror throughout Europe, already panic-stricken by the swift successes of the Turks, who had just destroyed the Greek Empire. Pope Callistus ordered a prayer to drive away the comet and the Turks: in those days of ignorance people were far from thinking that the only way to know nature is to interrogate it by observation and calculation. According as phenomena occurred and followed each other regularly or without apparent order, they were made to depend on final causes or on chance; and when there was something extraordinary about them which seemed to be opposed to the natural order, they were looked upon as so many signs of heavenly anger."

To the same effect we read in his *Essai philosophique sur les probabilités*:

"The long tail of the comet of 1456 spread terror throughout Europe, already dismayed by the swift successes of the Turks, who had just overthrown the Eastern Empire, and Pope Callistus ordered public prayers, in

which the curse of Heaven should be called down upon the comet and the Turks."

The same expression "to curse [or drive away] the comet," very probably borrowed from Laplace, recurs in Daru's poem entitled "L'Astronomie."

Truly remarkable is the metamorphosis the narrative assumes under Arago's pen:*

"When in 1456 the people saw the brilliant comet, now due to return in the month of November, 1835, Pope Callistus was so affrighted that he ordered, for a certain period, public prayers, in which, at the middle of each day, the comet and the Turks were excommunicated at the same time, and in order that no one should fail in this duty, he established the custom, since retained, of ringing the church bells at noon.

"We are no longer in that frame of mind, I admit, and with some exceptions, among which I could place a personage whose name would provoke here a very justifiable surprise, for he has astonished the world no less by his indomitable character than by his genius, no one in this century has dared *publicly* to avow that he looked upon comets as signs, as forerunners of social revolutions.

"Nevertheless, noticing the fears born of the approach of the comet that is to visit us in 1832, even though so far people have spoken ostensibly of its *physical action* only, I should not like to see Gregory XVI, were it merely by way of experiment, renew the brief of his predecessor Callistus; the fair name of the nineteenth century might suffer tarnish."

C. L. Littrow, in his "*Monographie des Halley'schen Cometen*," adds a few more or less happy comments to the historical data published by Lubienietzki (II, 292-4). His personal contributions are confined to a few misstate-

* *Des Comètes en général, et en particulier de la comète qui doit reparaitre en 1832.* Annuaire du Bureau des Longitudes pour l'an 1832, 244.

ments such as these: he makes Calvisius, born in 1556, a chronicler of the time of Callistus III; he inserts in the account of that writer the parenthetical clause, "comet and war," which does not fit in with what precedes; and he gives a false interpretation to the statements of Bonfini as cited by Lubienietzki, etc. The text of Littrow follows:

"About the time of the appearance of Halley's comet (1456) the Turks, under Mahomet II, were threatening Christendom with a new war. With the coming of the comet in June, the conviction grew that the war would end sadly. Calvisius, an historian of those days, tells us that 'Pope Callistus, affrighted by the comet and war, ordained a season of public prayer to appease the anger of God, and ordered that in the cities the bells should be tolled at midday to exhort all to prayers against the tyranny of the Turks.' Anxiety as to the issue of things was felt everywhere, and the aristocracy as well as the rabble recognized in the comet a harbinger of a near catastrophe. Then, of a sudden, the joyful news was heralded abroad that the Turks had been vanquished, that the defeat was complete, and that the loss of ammunition and of the army was incalculable. Naturally this proved a great boon to the trade of astrologers and so literature became replete with a variety of superstitions touching the prophetic meaning of the comet. One Cromerus touches the key note in entitling the comet, 'the joyful omen of the Christians, of victory over the Turks and the humiliating routing of Mahomet;' others, however, attempted to safeguard the older reputation of the comet and would not couple its appearance with the Turkish downfall, but rather with the death, following closely upon the conflict, of John Corvinus Hunjadi, the hero of the fight, in whom Christendom lost a veritable bulwark against infidelity. Alstedius simply ignores this pleasant coincidence and mentions only the conquest of the Islands of Lemnos, Mitylene and Euboea by the Turks. Others again attempt to ground their supersti-

tions in the history of other places and not content with having a universal event that would meet their demand, an event, it is true, that could not but be cheering, they hunt about until at length they light upon violent storms, earthquakes, famine, etc., in Italy. Yes, and one of these, Bonfinius by name, fancies other omens, to wit: A calf born in Italy with a double head, a shower of blood in Rome, the birth of a child in Ancona with six teeth in its mouth and an extraordinarily large countenance, marvels all presaged by the comet."

The first English author, according to Chambers, to mention this incident, is Vice-Admiral Smyth in his "*Cycle of Celestial Objects*" (p. 231):

"In 1456 it (the comet) came with a tail of 60° in length and of a vivid brightness; which splendid train affrighted all Europe and spread consternation in every quarter. To its malign influences were imputed the rapid successes of Mahomet II, which then threatened all Christendom. The general alarm was greatly aggravated by the conduct of Pope Callistus III, who, though otherwise a man of abilities, was but a poor astronomer, for that Pontiff ordered the church bells to be rung daily at noontide, extra Ave Marias to be repeated, and a special protest and excommunication was composed exorcising equally the devil, the Turks and the comet. By the way, while the 'Cometa monstriferus' was still in sight, Hunyades, the Pope's general, gained an advantage over Mahomet and compelled him to raise the siege of Belgrade, the remembrance of which Callistus immortalized by ordering the festival of the Transfiguration to be religiously observed throughout the Christian world. Thus was established the custom, which still exists in Catholic countries, of ringing the bells at noon; and perhaps it was from this circumstance that the well-known cakes, made of sliced nuts and honey, sold at the church doors in Italy on Saints' days, are called comete."

In the *History of Physical Astronomy* (1852), by Robert Grant (pages 304-5), we read:

"In the year 1456 there appeared a magnificent comet, which was visible over all the countries of Europe. The tail is stated to have been 60° long. This comet spread universal consternation, in consequence of its apparition being simultaneous (*sic*) with the capture of Constantinople by the Turkish army. In order to ward off the evil consequences which might ensue from its influence, Pope Callistus II (*sic*) ordered prayers to be offered up in all the Western Churches. He also issued a bull in which he anathematized both the Turks and the comet. It is hardly necessary to state that while the followers of the Crescent did not fail to acquire permanent possession of the ancient capital of the Eastern Empire, notwithstanding the means that were employed by the Papal Church to arrest their progress, so in like manner the comet continued with the same tranquillity as formerly to pursue its path throughout the heavens. This is now known to have been an apparition of the famous comet of Halley."

Babinet ("Les comètes du dix-neuvième siècle." *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 23e année, t. 4.) enhances the story with a few new particulars; he would have the comet (though it had already disappeared from the heavens) exorcised by the Friars Minor during the battle of Belgrade.

"Let us see in what events the comet was a witness and even almost an actor during its apparition of 1456. The Mussulmans, headed by Mahomet II, were besieging Belgrade, which was defended by Hunyadi 'the Exterminator of the Turks.' Halley's comet appeared and consternation fell upon both armies. Pope Callistus III, himself, a prey to the general alarm, ordains public prayers, and timidly launches an anathema against the comet and the enemies of Christendom. He establishes the noon-day Angelus, which custom still continues throughout the Catholic Church. The Friars Minor bring forty thousand men to the defence of Belgrade, besieged by the conqueror of Constantinople and the destroyer of the

Eastern Empire. The battle is on, it lasts two days without cessation. The price of this two-day encounter was the lives of forty thousand men. The Friars Minor, unarmed, with crucifix in hand, led the line of march, levelling the Pope's exorcism against the comet, turning the anger of Heaven back upon the enemy, an anger truly presaged in the opinion of all by the sight of the comet. What fine astronomers these! Finally Mahomet II, severely wounded, retreats with immense loss, abandoning in his flight all his engines of war, while the conqueror Hunyadi dies of fatigue, brought on by a combat, or rather a human butchery of twenty-four consecutive hours. Here are mighty effects of scientific opinions!

Mr. G. F. Chambers (*Handbook of Astronomy*, pages 214-215) writes in 1861:

"The superstitious dread in which comets were held during the Middle Ages is well exemplified in the case of the comet of 1456 (Halley's). We find that the then Pope, Callistus III, ordered the church bells to be rung daily at noon, and extra Ave Marias to be repeated by everybody. By the way, while the comet was still visible, Hunyadi, the Papal General, gained an advantage over Mahomet, and compelled him to raise the siege of Belgrade, the remembrance of which the silly Pope immortalized by ordering the festival of the Transfiguration to be scrupulously observed throughout the Christian world."

This is the slightly modified text of Admiral Smyth. The epithet alone, "silly," in place of "though a man of abilities," is original.

Says Mr. Flammarion (*Les Merveilles Célestes*, p. 264):

"In 1455 (*sic*) the same comet made a more memorable appearance still. The Turks and Christians were at war, the West and the East, armed from head to foot, seemed on the point of annihilating each other. The

crusade undertaken by Pope Callistus III against the invading Saracens, felt its ardour tormented by the sudden appearance of the star with the flaming mane. Mahomet II took Constantinople by storm, and laid siege to Belgrade. But the Pope, having averted both the curse of the comet and the abominable designs of the Mussulmans, the Christians gained the battle and annihilated their enemies in a bloody butchery. The noon Angelus to the sound of bells dates from these ordinances of Callistus III on occasion of the comet."

Prof. J. W. Draper (*"Conflict of Religion and Science,"* pp. 269, 320), delivers himself thus:

"When Halley's comet came in 1456, so tremendous was its apparition that it was necessary for the Pope himself to interfere. He exorcised and expelled it from the skies. It shrank away into the abysses of space, terror stricken by the maledictions of Callistus III, and did not venture back for seventy-five years! . . . By order of the Pope, all the Church bells in Europe were rung to scare it away, the faithful were commanded to add each day another prayer, and as their prayers had often in so marked a manner been answered in eclipses and droughts and rains, so on this occasion it was declared that a victory over the comet had been vouchsafed to the Pope."

The modest narrative of Simon Newcomb stands in favorable contrast to all these fanciful productions:

"In 1456 it [Halley's comet] spread such terror through Christendom that Pope Callistus III ordered prayers to be offered for protection against the Turks and the comet. This is supposed to be the circumstance which gave rise to the popular myth of the Pope's Bull against the comet."

J. Jamin (of the Académie des Sciences) would have the sounding of the midday Angelus a protection against the menace of the comet (*"Les Comètes." Revue des Deux Mondes, t. 47, p. 583*):

"This last (comet) caused such great alarm that Pope Callistus III ordered the sounding of the noon day Angelus, to avert the evil consequences of the portent. The custom still remains, though its cause has long since ceased."

Even Dr. Andrew Dickson White (late President of Cornell University) deigns to put in a brief word apropos of the same subject (*History of the Warfare Between Science and Theology in Christendom*):

"Then, too, was incorporated into a litany the plea 'From the Turk and the comet, good Lord deliver us.' Never was Papal intercession less effective; for the Turk has held Constantinople from that day to this, while the obstinate comet, being that now known under the name of Halley, has returned imperturbably at short intervals ever since."

Still more recently has the story been rethashed and that, too, quite artlessly, first by Mr. T. W. Henkel, B.A., F.R.A.S. (*Popular Astronomy*, 1907, p. 239):

"In 1456 the comet is said to have been of extraordinary splendor, its tail 60° long, and it is stated that a Papal Bull was fulminated against the Turks and the comet, and it was ordained that the bells should be rung at mid-day."

And again by Mr. John Candee Dean (*Popular Astronomy*, 1908, p. 334):

"On the return of the comet in 1456 a wider terror was spread than ever known before. It was described by those who saw it as an object of unheard of dimensions, with a tail that stretched more than a third of the way across the heavens. The belief was general among all classes that the comet would destroy the earth and that the Judgment Day was at hand. Three years before, the victorious Turks had captured Constantinople. This year Mahomet II, surnamed 'the Conqueror,' crossed the Hellespont with his army and threatened to overrun all

Europe. The terror was such that the people seemed regardless of the present and anxious only for the future. They gave up all hope and prepared for their doom. Treasure uncounted was poured into the Apostolic chamber by frightened people. Alfonso Borgia was Pope, under the title of Callistus III. He ordered the Ave Maria repeated three times a day instead of two, and to the prayer was added: 'Lord save us from the devil, the Turk and the comet.' He ordered the church bells rung at noon, which was the beginning of a practice still common in Christian countries.

"At length the fiery comet began to wane; a victory had been achieved over the demon in the firmanent, the Turks were checked by Hunyadi at Belgrade, but tranquillity was not fully restored until the final disappearance of the comet."

We venture another citation, this time from the *Rivista di Astronomia*, for July, 1909, published at Turin, Italy:

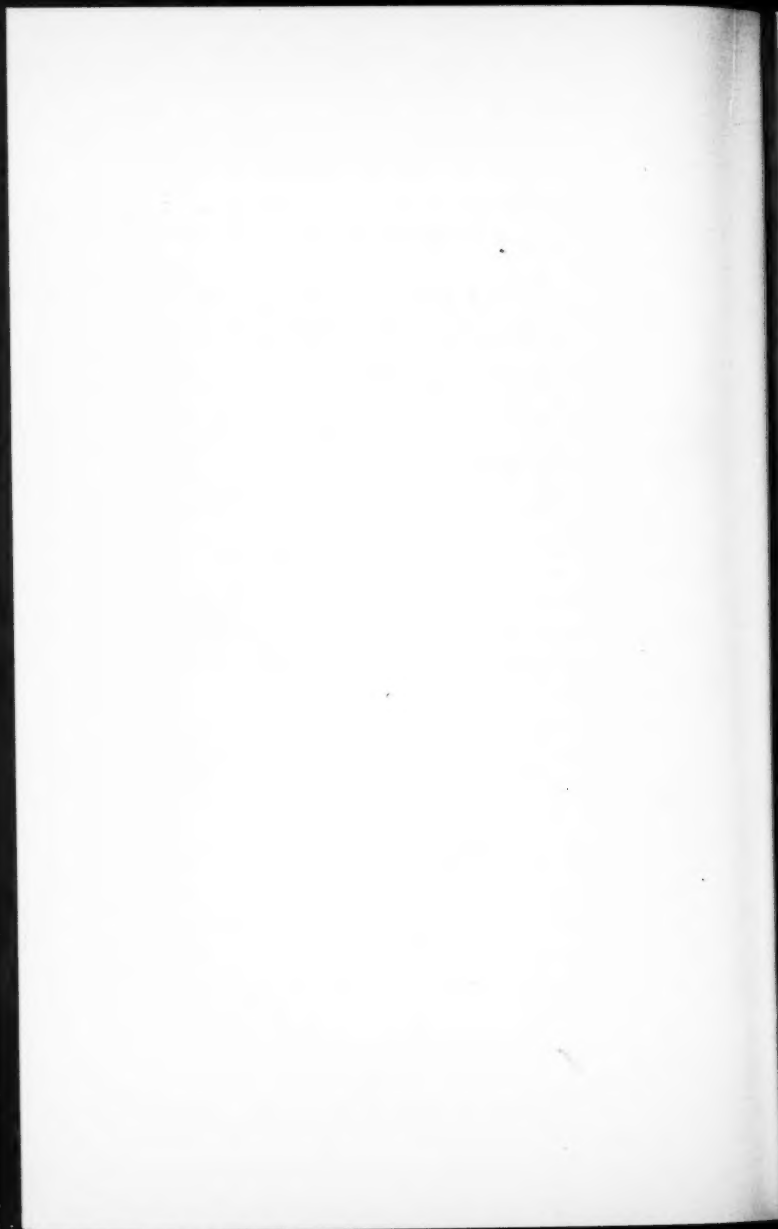
"On June 8th, 1456, the comet is in perihelion. For more than a year a Spanish Pope had worn the tiara of St. Peter. Callistus III had succeeded Nicholas V. Mahomet II, now master of Byzantium for three years, besieges Belgrade, and simultaneously shines forth in all its splendor Halley's comet. The Christian and Turkish armies are filled with fear. The Pope, panic-stricken, orders public prayers, and hurls an anathema against the comet and the enemies of Christianity and ordains that the special prayer, 'the Angel of the Lord,' the noon-day Angelus, be recited, a prayer still in vogue to-day in all Catholic Churches, and which is due to St. Bonaventure. On August 9th, 1456, the great battle was fought before the walls of Belgrade. It lasted two days and during the intervening night Halley's comet brilliantly lit up the skies, spreading consternation throughout both armies. Forty thousand men died, but victory crowned the heroism of the Hungarian John Hunyadi, who forced back from the walls of Belgrade the conqueror of Constantinople."

We shall conclude our collection of extracts with the witty statement of the editor of the *Scientific American* (Sept. 25, 1909):

"In 1378 and 1456 it appeared again. Constantinople was besieged by the Turks in 1456 (*sic*) and the comet was regarded by the Mohammedans as a favorable sign because of the crescent-shaped tail. Christendom was so alarmed at the simultaneous apparition of the Turks and the comet that a Papal Bull was promulgated against both. In a measure, therefore, the history of Halley's comet is the history of civilization."

The conclusion from this last statement regarding the history of civilization, as conceived by the *Scientific American*, is that it stands in as telling a need of revision as does the story of the comet.

Other citations might be added, but these sufficiently show the remarkable eagerness with which the fable connecting Pope and comet has been welcomed in cometary literature.



Callistus III and Halley's Comet

II.

4 The Bull of June 29, 1456.

THE "REGESTI" OF CALLISTUS III.—As has already been said, many attempts have been made to ferret out the origin of this myth. However deserving these efforts, the main point still remained undecided: DOES THERE EXIST A PAPAL DOCUMENT OF THE YEAR 1456 WHICH MAKES THE SLIGHTEST MENTION OF THE COMET? Only a thorough search of the Vatican Archives can reach a solution. I accordingly approached the secretary, Mr. Emile Ranuzzi, who most kindly consented to examine the *Regesti* of the Popes. These *Regesti* are preserved in the authentic registers corresponding to their date, in which is entered the text of the various bulls, briefs, answers to petitions, etc., before these same are forwarded to their respective destinations. They are divided into three series, that of the Vatican, that of the Lateran, and that of the petitions. The *Regesti* of Callistus III occupy in the first series the folio volumes 436 and following to 467; in the second series the numbers 498 and following to 534b; and in the third series volumes 472 and following to 502. These amount in all to about one hundred folio volumes, covering a pontificate of three years and four months (April 8th, 1455—August 6th, 1458). We should, therefore, gain little by appealing to the *Bullarium Romanum* which contains but a dozen documents of the reign of Callistus III.

The examination of these records was comparatively easy. A résumé of the first series is found in the MSS.

Fel. Contelorii Excerpta B (Index 112), while those of the second series are catalogued in the so-called *Rubricelle* (volumes 325 and 326). The series containing the innumerable petitions may, by reason of their contents, be discarded in our research.

The result of Mr. Ranuzzi's painstaking investigation was absolutely negative. Not a word on the comet. He found indeed the authentic Bull of June 29th, 1456, of which mention has already been made, under the title: *De Bulla Orationis contra Infideles pro victoria populi Christiani*, and directed to the Venerable Patriarchs, Archbishops, Bishops, etc., ordaining prayers and processions to obtain from God deliverance from the peril of the Turks. To make assurance doubly sure, I personally examined, with the kind assistance of Mr. Ranuzzi, the contents of the documents of the year 1456, and I read carefully in the authentic record the aforesaid Bull. As this document has already been published by Raynald, its perusal yielded nothing new, but it removed the slightest doubt as to the identity of Raynald's text and that of the authentic records.

RÉSUMÉ OF THE BULL.—The Pope begins by recalling how, with God's assistance, he has done all in his power to organize a crusade on land and sea.

"Very recently, with God our councilor, we despatched our beloved son Lewis, cardinal priest of the titular church of St. Lawrence of Damasus, to accompany the fleet and indeed, as far as the Lord deigned to help, we left nothing undone which might further, both on land and on sea, the success of this holy expedition."

Conscious that every human effort, unless reinforced by divine power, is futile, he humbly implores heaven's assistance:

"But since, as says the Apostle, ours is but the labor with God alone to give the increase, we know that naught will come of our most serious efforts unless we return to God in fasting, tears, sighs and prayers, that so He may deign to turn towards us. For God visits a Christian people recreant in sin with scourges like these, no otherwise indeed than He would a servant knowing the will of his master and not fulfilling it. Hence we take it as a necessity and most opportune that calling upon His mercy with sighs and tears, we own in prayer our nothingness, that we rest our hopes not only in our human powers, which are but weak and mortal, but in the God of Hosts, who is a veritable turret of valor and who of yore gave to Abraham, who with his few servants placed his trust in the Lord, a victory over powerful kings. For in war the victory comes from Him."

After citing other examples from Holy Scripture, the Pontiff continues:

"Moved, therefore, by these and other very numerous testimonies and examples of the Holy Scriptures, we exhort you, brothers and sons, through the abounding mercy of Our Lord Jesus Christ, in accordance with your pastoral duty, to insist more diligently on the moral reform, in compliance with the canons and decrees of the holy fathers, of the people confided to your care."

Then the Pope orders the following public prayers and devotional exercises:

"You therefore, . . . do we exhort and admonish in the Lord, and we order and ordain that each and every priest, as often as he may offer up the Holy Sacrifice, make a commemoration and say 'the prayer against pagans,' namely: 'Almighty and everlasting God, in whose hands are all powers and the rights of all kingdoms, bow down to aid the Christian people that the pagan nations, who trust in their fierceness, may be crushed by the power of Thy right hand.'*

* This is no new nor very extraordinary prayer. It is found in all Roman Missals in the Mass *contra paganos*.

"And that all the people, of whatever sex or station, may participate in these prayers and indulgences, we order and ordain that in all churches, of whatever cities, territories, or places they be, between the hours of noon and vespers, that is, before the call to vespers or within at least a half hour of said time, one bell or more, deep-sounding, that they be the better heard, be rung thrice daily, in the same way as the evening bells are wont to be rung for the Angelical Salutation, and then each one should say thrice the Lord's Prayer and the Ave Maria. To all who recite these prayers once on bended knees, we mercifully grant in the Lord forty days' indulgence, and to all who recite them thrice, one hundred days.

"Furthermore, we order and ordain that in all cities, territories, camps and stations of your dioceses or administration, or jurisdiction, on every first Sunday of the month you hold a public procession in which all your people, clerics, too, whether secular or regular, mendicant or non-mendicant, exempt or non-exempt, whether they are housed within or without the walls of the cities, territories, towns or villages, or in the suburbs, take part. Cloistered religious, however, living in solitude, who are not accustomed to take part in these processions when held in the cities, territories, camps or villages, stand excused, but on these same days they are to hold processions, either in the cloister or around their monasteries, or betaking themselves to some neighboring basilica, as their devotion may prompt."

On the occasion of these solemn processions a sermon shall be preached in which the orator "will first strive to strengthen the faith of his hearers, render them patient in such tribulations, exhort them also to penance . . . then, exposing the barbarity of the Turks, show the harm they have done the Christians and are still attempting to do, and so lift up the prayers and pious desires of all to God against the Turks."

Finally, the Pope grants indulgences to all who offer

up their prayers and pious works for this intention, and he adds that the ordinances of the Bull are valid "so long as our holy Crusade is on and until victory is given us by Heaven, as we trust, over the perfidious Turk and the other damnable sects of Mahomet which infest the Orient."

PROMULGATION—FIRST PROCESSION.—On the 29th of June, the feast of the Saints Peter and Paul, during the solemn high Mass, celebrated by the Pontiff himself in the Basilica of St. Peter, the Bull was proclaimed by the Cardinal-Priest of Venice. The first Sunday of the following July, then the fourth of the month, the first processions took place. The Pope himself communicated this to the Florentines soon after the great victory of Belgrade.

FAYE'S STATEMENT.—In this Bull, I repeat, there is not the slightest mention of the comet. I take great pleasure in thus corroborating the following words of a famous savant penned more than fifty years ago:

"I was very curious," said the celebrated astronomer Faye, "to read with my own eyes the famous Bull against the Turks and the Comet. But though I found in the *Annales Ecclésiastiques* of Baronius and in the *Bullarium Romanum* those wonderful letters which Callistus sent to the Christian Princes, begging them to take up arms against the Turks, already masters of Byzantium and falling like an avalanche upon Europe, inattentive and divided, on the other hand, I found nowhere the slightest mention of the comet, even in the very Bull which founded the custom of sounding the parochial bells for the midday Angelus, the processions and the new prayers. Not one word, I repeat, did I find concerning the comet in any of the official documents which I have perused."

May we, therefore, claim it for an absolute certainty that no papal document, noticing the comet, ever existed? Hardly, though the contrary is to the highest degree unlikely. Undoubtedly, at certain epochs some official documents were not registered. Why this omission occurred is not yet known. For instance, the Bull that suppressed the Order of Templars is not found in the Archives. Therefore, it is not absolutely impossible that a document of the year 1456 should have gone astray. But this is a gratuitous supposition.

5 Contemporaneous Historians

ST. ANTONINUS.—In the absence of official records, we must needs fall back on the historians of the time. St. Antoninus claims priority. Born in 1389, he entered the Order of St. Dominic at a very early age, and was Archbishop of Florence from 1446 until the time of his death in 1459. He wrote a world's history from the creation to the year of his death, and entitled it *Chronicorum Libri Tres*. Though he makes many statements in this work which modern critics would challenge, yet, for the history of his times, he is perfectly reliable. The chapter that treats of Callistus III and the war with the Turks contains an exact account of all the measures adopted by the Pope:

“In the second year of his pontificate he ordained by solemn Apostolic letters that throughout the entire Christian world, the bells in every church should be rung daily between the hours of noon and vespers, calling for the recital of three Hail Marys. . . . Also, that on the first Sunday of each month a public procession be held in which clerics, religious and the laity should take part, that Mass be sung with an appropriate sermon for

victory over the Turks. . . . Also, that whoever celebrates Mass should say the prayer for victory against pagans. . . . And all to obtain deliverance from the Turks and victory."

He has one chapter touching comets entitled, *De cometis unde causentur et quid significant*, which begins thus:

"In the years 1456 and 1457, during the month of August, two comets appeared in different parts of the sky, the last one appearing about seven o'clock in the evening in the east."

That is all he says of the comet of 1456 in particular. Afterward, starting from the then prevalent opinion that comets take their origin in heavy terrestrial vapors rising from the lower strata and becoming incandescent in the sphere of fire, he discusses why these meteors are considered as signs foretelling the death of the great. He concludes that there is no foundation for this belief, since such vapors rise equally above the hovels of the poor and the palaces of the rich or the king, or any other; but the death of a king solicits more attention. According to the same author, the comet cannot be considered as a harbinger of war, save that it causes heat and dryness, which in turn easily excite men to anger and hatred.

Such notions may be taxed with simplicity, but evidently they contain nothing at all that is superstitious in the strict acceptance of the word.

AENEAS SYLVIUS.—After St. Antoninus we meet another contemporary writer of great authority, Aeneas Sylvius (Piccolomini) who, under the name of Pius II, succeeded Callistus III on the throne of St. Peter. In his works and letters I have found no mention of the public prayers ordered by Callistus. On the other hand, in his letters, he dilates at some length on the effects of

the comet. His statements are remarkable, first, because he considers, *post factum*, it is true, the comet as a presage of the Turkish defeat; secondly, because they indicate how persistent professional astrologers were in alarming all by their lying predictions.

Thus he writes to the Emperor Frederick III, under date of December 28, 1456:

"Æneas, Cardinal of Siena, to His Majesty, Frederick, Greeting:

"Thou shalt learn from the bearer of these presents what startling and incredible damage the Kingdom of Apulia has suffered in consequence of the earthquake. Many of the towns have been razed to the ground. Others have in great part collapsed. Almost all the churches and the largest palaces of Naples have fallen. It is said that more than thirty thousand corpses lie buried beneath the ruins. The survivors have taken to tents. The King of Aragon, who was away at the time, on learning the news, was seized with fever and colic. Report had it that he was convalescent, but we learn that he had a relapse, and that his life is in the balance. Should so great a king die (and God forbid), then would there be a meaning to the comet, for we have the routing and next to obliteration of the Turkish forces, the death of the Governor of Hungary and his brother John, and the assassination of the Count of Cilia. Count Tagltonus, prefect of the City, has also died. But may the divine goodness spare us such a king, whose death would upset a great part of Italy and Hungary."

Three months later he dispatched the following to King Alfonso of Aragon:

"The news briefly. Ulricus, Count of Cilia, was murdered in Alba Graeca or, as others call it, Alba. There is no doubt that the Count's assassin is Ladislaus, son of that John Hunyadi who often vanquished the Turks, and who this very year on that very ground humiliated the pride of Mohammed. . . . A red letter year this,

marking the defeat of the Turks and the assassination of a great Count, governor for a great king. *The comet which appeared this year has fully met all expectations. It was responsible for all that happened near Thaurinum.* It caused the terrible earthquake in your kingdom, of which thou hast heard before. It stirred up sedition in the crowded cities, especially in Siena and forced the expulsion of not a small part of the inhabitants. Pestilence, breaking out in many places, carried off a great part of the population, especially in Hungary. Then there is the high price of food, not only in Italy, but Germany, Greece and many sections of the East. *And yet more fearful things are in store for us if we are to credit the astrologers.* Let us hope that God will brand them as liars.

"From Rome, the 26th of March, 1457."

ST. JOHN CAPISTRAN.—An indisputable proof that the comet was far from being recognized by everyone as a sign of impending doom is found in the life of St. John Capistran, by Nicholas De Fara, an eyewitness of his deeds. After relating how the great Franciscan, on the first Sunday of Lent of the year 1456, began to exhort the Hungarians in behalf of the crusade, he continues:

" . . . Verily did his eloquence fire when, to defend the orthodox faith, the very sky, as with heavenly trumpets twain, in the month of June, during many days before the invasion of the Turks, cried out: for, with the appearance of twin comets, one before dawn, which by its size struck terror into all the nations of the world, the other after sunset, which also seemed to be preceded by the shadow of death, the *servant of God began to take heart, because, having received a revelation from Christ,* he knew that those celestial wanderers foretold a signal triumph over the Turkish foe.* Wherefore he exhorted

* This alludes to a private revelation St. John Capistran is said to have received, announcing a forthcoming victory over the Turks (*Acta Sanctorum*, LIX, pp. 368, 513).

all and preached to everyone openly, 'Fear not, little flock, do not tremble. *For God will give us the desired victory over our foes which the forerunning stars point out as surely to come.*'"

Jerome of Utino, another companion of the Saint, corroborates these statements:

" . . . And when (John), fired as if by some divine forecast, as also by the then appearing stars, especially the comet, the more fervently urged the crusade, recruits poured in from every land averring with one voice that they would follow their saintly leader in life or death."

THE ITALIAN CHRONICLES.

Another historical source are the Italian chronicles written by contemporaries of Callistus III, and edited by Muratori in his *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*.

The following is the detailed account of the comet as found in the *Chronicle of Bologna*:

"In the beginning of June there appeared a star round and bright like to the eye of a bull, and from it there belched forth a large flame that might be mistaken for the tail of a peacock. This smoldering flame was now larger, now smaller. It first shone out in the northeast at about half past five in the evening. On the sixteenth of the month it began to be visible midway betwixt North and West, at the time of the Ave Maria. Setting, it cut its way obliquely towards the East and presently it set. Then it rose again in the West, and towards the end of the month of June, disappeared."

The author then recounts how, on the 9th of August, the news of the victory of Belgrade reached Bologna from Venice.

"For this reason His Lordship the Delegate and the regiments of Bologna had the bells of the Commune and

of St. Peter's rung. Indeed, with but few exceptions, the bells of all churches were rung. In the evening, fires were lighted, the prisons of the Commune opened, and processions held during three days."

It was not till the 22d of August that the custom was inaugurated of ringing the Ave Maria.

"In accordance with the Bull of Callistus III, forwarded to Bologna, the ringing of the Ave Maria was begun on August 22. From then on, whoever said three Our Fathers and three Hail Marys received one hundred days' indulgence; and moreover, on the first Sunday of the month, public processions are to be held and seven days' indulgence is granted to all taking part in them, provided they confess their sins and are contrite. This was done in order that God may have mercy on us against the said Turks."

Among the Italian chronicles, that of Bologna is the only one that makes mention of both the comet and the public prayers. The rest mention but one or the other, if any at all.

So in the *Annals of Raimo*:—"In the year 1456, a comet appeared with a very long tail, as it were thirty palms in length (not easy to measure from the earth). At times it lengthened out to more than a hundred, and sometimes it disappeared altogether, as on June 2. It hung about for quite a number of days, visible in the evening in the South, in the morning toward the North, below the morning star."

The Annals of Piacenza:—"In 1456, during the months of June and July, a comet was seen toward the West."

The Annals of Matthaeus Palmerius:—"In the beginning of June, 1456, there appeared a comet, which had in front of it a beam of light visible when the air was very clear, more than fifty fathoms in length, not very wide nor thick, but rather slender like a long ray. Sometimes it appeared much smaller and its color was

that of a bright star. It began to be seen in the East near the North, moving northward."

The Annals of Forli:—"A comet with widespread tail, that made it seem a flaming torch, shone out on June 1st, 1456, A. D."

Then the author mentions the terrible earthquake which, in early December, laid low many Italian cities, and he adds that people attributed this disaster to the comet: "Which, it is believed, was caused by the comet that came before." The records that follow omit any mention of the comet, but chronicle the public prayers ordered by Callistus III.

The Annals of Bologna:—"His Holiness, in 1456, sent word to all Christian nations, that the Angelus should be rung at mid-day and recited for the intention of a victory over the Turks."

The Diary of Ferrara:—"The Pope had the Angelus said at noon, praying God to grant victory over the Turk."

The Lives of the Dukes of Venice:—"Pope Callistus III ordained priests to celebrate Mass each day, imploring Heaven's assistance against the infidels. He also ordered that at noon-day the bells be rung and the Hail Mary recited."

In the collection of the "*Fonti per la Storia D'Italia*," the allusions to the comet are very few. The most important one is that of Stephen Infessura, "Scribe of the Senate and Roman people." He was born about 1440, and at the time of the comet's appearance was, therefore, about sixteen years of age. In all probability he jotted down these facts, of which he was a witness, several years after. His diary reads:

"During July, 1456, a comet appeared having a long tail, with its head pointed eastward. Consequent to its appearance, Rome was affected with great famine,

pestilence, wars and slaughter, and owing to this the processions were ordained that God might recall His just punishment."

Mark that the author speaks of processions instituted to obtain deliverance from *actual* pests, famine, and wars, which afflicted Rome and many other places some months after the comet's appearance. There is, therefore, question of a fact entirely different from that which concerns us at present.

Our citations from the Italian chronicles shall close with one hitherto unpublished document found in the Vatican Library (Codex Vat. lat. 10490). Mgr. M. Vattasso kindly communicated to me the passage relating to the comet of 1456. The author is one Giovanni Pedrino, a humble painter of Forli, whose MS. Mgr. Vattasso is preparing to publish. A comparison is instituted between the comet of 1400, seen in the author's youth and which outrivalled the present one in brilliancy. Great mortality attended each.

"Again have my wits been set astir by the comet seen in 1456, during the month of June, as well as for some days before and after, a comet that had no less in store for Italy than that of 1400. I witnessed the comet of 1400. It was in the month of February. It hung over against the evening sky for well nigh two hours. With the beginning of darkness it revealed a tail a pace in length. In March it was discernible in full daylight, the head preceding the sun, but not the tail. This lasted for six or eight days and then it disappeared. Mortality was large, many rich people died, few survived, and those that did were the subject of much wonderment. As a closing word, I venture my conviction that it will thin out our family circles. This comet was not as bright as its predecessor, and though visible again in 1457, it was seen during the late hours of the night for a few days in the beginning of July.

"In the year 1456 mortality ran high in the Marches, Tuscany, the Romagna and Venice. The comet was seen repeatedly during this year, as likewise in 1457. The aforesaid countries have felt its influence and the general disorder of the provinces may be laid at its door."

CHRONICLES OF OTHER COUNTRIES.

Annals of Augsburg, by Frank:—"On the feast of St. Onoffrius (June 12, 1456), and eight days thereafter, a star was seen, called in Latin 'cometa.' The length of its tail was the height of a man, nor did it outrival in brilliancy other stars, but resembled a burning torch as seen through a window pane. Its width was the breadth of the palm of the hand, its color quite the color of any ordinary star. The tail hung South, leaning a trifle to the left."

A few pages farther on:

"In 1456, Peter, Bishop of Augsburg, ordered that in all his churches the pastor should every Saturday hold a procession and sing a High Mass for (*sic*) the Turks. Besides, on the first of every month all the pastors made the Way of the Cross, as is the custom in the Lenten season. This ruling was abolished in the following year, '57, by the Pope, who in turn laid down the regulation which will be found below. Besides, he ordered that daily, at two o'clock in the afternoon, the bells be thrice tolled in all parishes and monasteries and everyone reciting the Our Father three times would gain one hundred days, and those following the Way of the Cross, six hundred days' indulgence.

"1457. And in the year '57 Pope Callistus issued an order affecting all German territory, that on every first Sunday of the month there should be held the Way of the Cross. And all priests here at Augsburg assembled in the Church, where a High Mass was sung in praise of God and to obtain for holy Christendom freedom from the Turks."

Hector Mueller of Augsburg gives the information that this measure of the Pope lasted for two years:

"The Pope ordered the Way of the Cross. The first Sunday of every month the priests, laymen and women flocked to the church and sung a High Mass (*sic*). Two hours after noon the bells were rung out, and all who said three Our Fathers gained a goodly indulgence. This lasted for two years."

Doering despatches the comet rather summarily:

"In the same year (1456) a mighty comet lit up the north, sweeping its tail south. It hung about for over a month."

Thus he comments on the public prayers:

"The great highpriest, conscious that his avarice and that of his retinue, in hoarding up by a hundred strategies vast sums of money from the collection boxes, and that the cowardice of the worldlings did little towards terrorizing the Turks, and that these latter were rather fired in their sacrilegious boldness to blaspheme the name of Christ, had recourse, strangely enough, to prayer, processions and indulgences for making the sign of the cross. Thus might his faithful subjects breathe again after the victory, just mentioned, over the Turks."

The unjustifiable slurs heaped upon the Pontiff here are not worthy of comment.

Ebendorffer and Dlugloss, though making no mention of the public prayers, dilate at length on the good and evil consequences of the comet's advent. According to the latter, many considered the comet a harbinger of the Turkish defeat: *Not a few prophesied the fall and slaughter of the Turks.*

Anthony Bonfini catalogues the comet with the other signs foreshadowing Hunyadi's death:

"Many omens foretold his death. First, the comet of June, which appeared in the fifteenth degree of latitude

and remained visible for well nigh thirty days. Secondly, the birth in February of a double-headed calf in the country of the Sabines. Thirdly, the shower of blood before the portal of the temple of Venus. Fifthly, the rain of meat in Liguria; and finally, the birth of an infant in Picenum with an uncommonly large face and with six teeth in its mouth. These portents foretold not only the fate of Corvinus, but many other misfortunes."

Evidently this writer does not mean that all these prodigies were forecasted by the comet, as Littrow would have us believe (see above, p. 181); according to Bonfini, they were, with the comet, so many presages of the same events. An incontestable proof is that the two-headed calf was born in February, 1456, whilst the comet appeared as late as June. Nevertheless, the story, as it stands, is a remarkable example of superstition.

James Meyer Baliolanus, author of the *Annales Flandriae*, indignantly assails the blindness of the authorities of Flanders, both ecclesiastical and civil, in not heeding the warnings of the comet and other "manifest signs of Divine wrath." After recalling the disastrous earthquake of December 4th, 1456, he continues:

" . . . Simultaneously, and for quite a while, a terrible comet was visible in the Western zone. A manifestation this of an angered Deity. Palmerius claims that it rained blood in Rome, and meat in Liguria. In spite of all this, our authorities, civil as well as ecclesiastical, blinded and indolent, could in no wise awaken from their old-time stupor.

Callistus III and Halley's Comet

III.

6 Origin of the Legend

PLATINA: HIS LIFE AND WORKS.—We have now come to the only writer of the time of Callistus who introduces the Pope into the history of the comet. The humanist, Platina, was born at Piadena (whence his name) in 1421. After having first been a soldier, he became, later on, tutor to the sons of the Margrave, Louis Gonzaga. In 1457 he went to Florence and in 1462 to Rome, probably as an attendant of Cardinal Francesco Gonzaga. In 1471, Pope Sixtus IV commissioned him to write his *History of the Popes*, which he finished toward the end of the year 1474 or in the beginning of 1475. Having afterward been appointed Librarian of the Vatican, he held this position until his death in 1481.

Gregorovius thus criticises his principal work, the *Vita Pontificum*:

" . . . Though easy in style, and elegant, his work lacks historic foundation, argues all but deep thought and is best catalogued as a neat handbook penned to the norm of classical biography. Platina is fair and beyond prejudice. Though aware of the necessity of critical analysis, he approaches it timidly for fear it might hamper the flow of his narrative."

It is much to be regretted that this writer's veracity, commended by Gregorovius, is not always above suspicion. Everyone knows that his life of Paul II is a veritable biographical caricature; and it is not the only instance in which Platina has shown slight regard for historical truth.

This writer was a contemporary of Callistus III, and as we have no reason for doubting his good faith in the present question, his statements are not wanting in authority. The authenticity of the text is fully guaranteed since the magnificent manuscript of his work, which he personally put into the hands of Sixtus IV, has been preserved in a perfect state. The text is found on page 209 bis, recto of the *Codex Vat. Lat.*, N. 2044.

The following is a close translation of this document:

" . . . A reddish comet with blazing tail appearing for some days: as the mathematicians predicted a terrible pestilence, famine, or some great misfortune; Callistus, to appease the wrath of God, ordained processions on certain days, in order that if the world was threatened by any evil, He might cause it to descend upon the heads of the Turks, the enemies of Christendom. He ordered, furthermore, in order to appease God by assiduous prayers, that the church bells should be sounded at noon-day as a signal to the faithful to help by their prayers those who were fighting without cessation against the Turks. . . ."

Now for a few words of comment on the Latin text:

Rubeo.—The comet is of a reddish color; consequently it was one of those which the astrologers call a martial comet (*cometa martialis*), that is, born under the influence of the reddish planet Mars. They attribute to the comet the dry heat, and all its consequences; *i. e.*, earthquakes, storms, thunder, lightning, burning fevers, and furthermore, quarrelsomeness, revolts, and wars, especially among men of a warlike spirit.

Mathematici.—The names, astronomer, astrologer, and mathematician, were at that time nearly synonymous. Nowadays the word astrology is employed in the deteriorated sense of astral magic; astronomy is the science of

the stars. As both suppose fairly extensive knowledge of mathematics, one can understand why they applied to both the title of mathematicians.

Luckily there has been handed down to us the astronomical decision of one of the most famous mathematicians of that time. This interesting document, bearing the date of June 17, 1456, is found in the manuscripts of Toscanelli and was published by Prof. Celoria (*Sull'apparizione della cometa di Halley nell' anno 1456. Astr. Nachr.*, 1885, n. 2645) :

"There is question," says the savant, "of a letter, astrological above all, of Pietro Bono Avogario, a mathematician and professor at the University of Ferrara up to 1506, an enthusiast in judiciary astrology. . . . It is very probable that this letter of Avogario, written after the comet of 1456 had been visible for some days, is to be found amongst the manuscripts of Toscanelli, because he himself had copied it. Doubtless he wished to apply the principles he had conned in the school of judiciary astrology to the present star of 1456, and hence his diligence in transcribing it with his own hand. . . ." The striking feature of this astrological reading is that the Turks are warned to beware of the Christians :

"The appearance [of the comet] in the east signifies that the King of the Turks has reason to fear his enemies."

According to Professor Celoria it is certain that Toscanelli dived in judiciary astrology. To support this opinion he instances certain words and phrases indisputably in accord with the astrological fancy that comets were, generally, emissaries of evil.

Supplicationes (Litaniæ).—A classical term for professions accompanied by public prayers. Several, there-

fore, are in error when they translate this word by "supplications" or by the word "litanies" as used to-day.

Aliquot dierum—assiduo rogatu.—This antithesis indicates a close correlation of the two parts of the phrase, Pope Callistus does not rest contented with a few days of extraordinary prayers, but he wishes that all pray *assiduously* and *perseveringly*. So, considering Platina's narrative above, it is reasonable to suppose that the two measures form part of the same decree.

DISCUSSION OF THE TEXT.—At first reading we were inclined unreservedly to accept Platina's story as true in all its parts. It is the testimony of a contemporary author; besides, there is nothing intrinsically improbable therein. Close study, however, of the circumstances of the times, and comparison with other contemporaneous documents led to the conviction that there is here something inadmissible.

To begin with, it is certain that the noon-day sounding of the church bells has not the slightest connection with the appearance of the comet. The authentic Bull and the contemporary writers prove this convincingly. In order, then, not to contradict an incontestable fact, we must needs keep strictly separate the two measures mentioned by Platina, although the obvious meaning of his narrative requires the contrary.

Having despatched the question of the Angelus, we have now to consider only the processions mentioned by Platina. Naturally we are led to ask: are these the same processions made mention of in the Bull of June 29? If so, then Platina is wrong in asserting that this measure was inspired by fear of the comet. If otherwise, then it seems passing strange that two processions were ordered

at the same time, one to transfer the evil forebodings of the comet to the Turks, the other, to implore God's assistance against these same enemies: for the fact is that the Bull was proclaimed June 29, *while the comet had been visible for some days*, and the first procession was held July 4th, with the comet still visible to the naked eye. Moreover, in this connection, the following points need clearing up:

(1) Why does Platina ignore processions ordered by the Bull, processions that should have left a lasting memory in the minds of all that witnessed them, both because of their solemnity and the great throngs that took part in them?

(2) Why does St. Antoninus, who in his capacity of Archbishop of Florence was entitled to receive a personal copy of the pontifical decrees, keep silence in his *Chronicon* about the other processions against the comet, though mentioning the comet and enumerating fully the prayers and processions prescribed in the Bull?

(3) Why, likewise, do all other contemporaries who chronicle the comet or the processions, or both, say naught of prayers for protection against the comet?

If we add that, on the one hand, the obvious sense of the narrative points to one decree containing the two measures, and that, on the other hand, we have no official data concerning processions against the comet, the result is, in the second hypothesis, a very considerable sum of improbabilities.

CONCLUSION.—Consequently we believe we have a right to conclude that *not only the daily prayers but also the processions* mentioned by Platina are not different from those prescribed in the Bull against the Turks, and that this author has erred in attributing the origin of the

Bull to fear caused by the comet. Such a mistake could be easily explained. Persons possessed of only a superficial knowledge of the Bull might fancy a connection between the comet's apparition and the publication of the Bull, seeing that in point of time they were one. Nor is it unlikely that many of those who took part in the processions, goaded on by fear of the comet, did beseech the Almighty to ward off pestilence, famine and other visitations. The remembrance of these circumstances will naturally have occurred to Platina when he wrote his story. Such a supposition cannot be considered slanderous with regard to a writer that is far from scrupulously weighing each word in the balance of criticism, because, as Gregorovius says, he does not wish to lessen the interest of his narrative.

HUMANIST HISTORIANS ACCORDING TO J. BURCKHARDT.
—Let me add what a writer who cannot be suspected of partiality, J. Burckhardt, says of the humanist historians of the fifteenth century in general:

“The science of history is inevitably falling into the clutches of humanism. A perfunctory comparison of the present day chroniclers with those of the older school cannot but elicit a sigh of regret. How persistently the reader is harassed by the presentiment that, what with snatches from Livy and Cæsar . . . the best individual and local coloring, namely, interest in actual occurrences, has been jeopardized. And our suspicions grow with the consciousness that this iron-clad limitation is affected just in the wrong place and consequently a dry and sapless event stands disguised under the mask of charm and literary affluence. History cannot rise to poetic flights—never. Unwittingly, however, the reader is returning his confidence to the Latin and Italian annalists who have remained true to the older traditions of historical art.”

Considering this appreciation of the humanist historians, the question arises if really one ought to attach so much importance to those few words of Platina: one is tempted to view them simply as an easy transition, an ornament of style used by the author as a classic reminiscence with little regard for facts. And indeed, *decernere supplicationes*, "to ordain public processions," for the averting of calamities of which the "prodigies," comets, monstrosities, etc., were the pretended presages, is almost a commonplace with classical historians. One single example borrowed from him who was for the humanists the ideal historian, will suffice here:

"During that year (a. U. C. 456) many prodigies happened. That further harm might be stayed, the senate decreed supplications for two days; wine and incense were publicly offered; numerous crowds of men and women walked in procession (*supplicatum iere*) (Livy, 10, 23).

7 The Legend Through the Centuries

At a session of the British Astronomical Association, July 1st, 1908, Mr. G. F. Chambers, F.R.A.S., quoted on page 181, admitted that after he had read Father Gerard's article on the subject, he was convinced that there was ground for the belief "that the statement on this subject which has got into circulation is not in substance true, but is a curious perversion of something which is true." After having communicated Platina's account, as translated by Father Gerard, he adds:

"It will be seen that there is here no reference to any bull, or exorcism, or excommunication, or imprecation against the comet joined with the Turk; and it really is an interesting problem in the science of literary transformation to consider when and how it came about that

on Platina's *apparently simple recital such a considerable superstructure should have been raised.*"

A solution of this problem postulates an answer to two questions: 1st, what was the source of the error attributing the institution of the "noonday Angelus" as well as that of other "public prayers" (processions) to the comet's appearance?

2d.—Who was the inventor of the fable or legend about special prayers, curses, excommunications, exorcisms and anathemas hurled against the comet?

1st. *Calvisius, Spondanus, Lubienietzki.*—The first question is easily answered. We have already seen that the obvious meaning of Platina's account gives rise to this error. So have most historians understood it, without taking the trouble to verify his story by examining contemporary documents. Thus we read in the *Opus Chronologicum* of Calvisius, whose first edition dates back to 1605:

"The Turkish Annals and others have it that two comets appeared this year, the latter of which, seen during the month of June, had a long tail. The terrified Pope ordained a few days of (supplicationes) procession to avert the anger of God and ordered that in the cities the bells should be rung at noon, that all be reminded of the prayers they should say against the tyranny of the Turks." (*Platina.*)

One can see that this citation is far from exact. The mathematicians are forgotten, the Pope is henceforth made the scapegoat.

Having quoted St. Antoninus (see pages 194 and 195), Henry Spondanus continues:

"With the appearance during some days of a tailed red comet, (the Turkish annals would have two) the same Callistus ordained some days of procession to turn away the anger of God against the Turks." (*Plat. in Callist.*)

Lubienietzki in his *Theatrum Cometicum* (written in 1666), after translating the text of Calvisius, adds: *Calvisius ex Platina*.

FABRE (FLEURY), BRUYS.—In the continuation of the *Histoire Ecclésiastique* of Fleury, written by Jean Claude Fabre (1726), we come upon a more ample paraphrase of Platina's text. We give citations in a parallel column from the *Histoire des Papes* published by Francis Bruys in five volumes (1732-1734). Evidently the latter borrowed from the former, embellishing the same with a malicious phrase anent Callistus III.

(FLEURY) FABRE. 1726.

Depuis que CALIXTE III eut été élevé au souverain Pontificat, il employa tous ses soins pour réunir les Princes chrétiens contre les Turcs, et arrêter les progrès de MAHOMET II. Pendant qu'il sollicitoit ainsi toute la chrétienté à se liguier contre cet Empereur, on vit au ciel une comète chevelue, qui paroissoit toute en feu.

Le peuple naturellement crédule, craignit que ce phénomène ne fût le signe de quelque grand accident, et le Pape saisit ce moment d'effroi pour l'engager à la prière et à la pratique des bonnes œuvres; afin, disoit-il, que s'il y avoit quelque malheur à craindre, le ciel en préservât les chrétiens. Il indiqua des prières et des processions publiques; il ordonna qu'on sonneroit tous les jours les cloches vers le midi, afin d'avertir les peuples de prier dans cette intention, et accorda des indulgences à tous ceux qui réciteroient alors trois fois l'oraison dominicale et la salutation angélique.

BRUYS. 1733.

Le Pape ne cessoit d'exciter les princes chrétiens à s'unir contre les Turcs;

et sur ces entrefaites, il parut au ciel une comète chevelue qui jeta l'effroi dans toute la chrétienté.

Le Pape, profitant en habile homme de la superstition et de la crédulité des peuples, qui craignoient que ce phénomène ne fût le signe de quelque grand accident, les exhorta à la prière et à la pratique des bonnes œuvres; afin, disoit-il, que s'il y avoit quelque malheur à craindre, le ciel en préservât les chrétiens. Il indiqua des prières et des processions publiques; ordonna qu'on sonneroit tous les jours les cloches vers midi, afin d'avertir les peuples de prier dans cette intention, et accorda des indulgences à tous ceux qui réciteroient alors trois fois l'oraison dominicale et la salutation angélique.

Fabre (Fleury) has a marginal reference: *Platina in Vita Callisti III*; Bruys has then a similar note: *Platina, Vita Calixti III*, page 283.

These excerpts prove sufficiently that Platina's story has remained the sole foundation of all later accounts.

2d. *Laplace, Arago*.—Father Delsaux, as regards the second query, is of the opinion "that the savants, who so obligingly attributed to Callistus III a Bull of excommunication and the institution of certain prayers of threat against the comet, inadvertently or intentionally exaggerated matters, interpreting in their own way Fleury's account of the comet of 1456. . . .

"Little acquainted with matters ecclesiastical and with the technical terms of canon law and liturgy, they concluded that it was an *exorcism*—for Laplace's term, *conjuror*, suffers no other interpretation—and an *excommunication levelled against the Turks and the comet in the public prayers*."

In fact, as Fleury's work was well known throughout France, Laplace and Arago, in all likelihood, drew from that source. Arago's treatise on the comets was, close upon its publication, translated into nearly every European language and we feel justified in holding that all subsequent writers took Arago's authority for their foundation. Mr. Chambers' suggestion that Vice-Admiral Smyth, who visited Italy about 1813 and "was in close touch with Piazzì at Palermo . . . might have received some Italian, that is, some Roman Catholic, inspiration," seems to us unworthy of attention. Smyth's words, "a special protest and excommunication was composed exorcising equally the Devil, the Turks, and the comet," betray such complete ignorance of the most elementary notions of Catholic liturgy that the insinuation

of the name and authority of Piazzi, a religious and a Catholic priest, is simply ridiculous.

It is noteworthy that Mr. Chambers in his most recent work, *The Story of the Comets* (1909, p. 208), categorically denies that any "excommunication" was hurled against the comet: "This story has been proved to be a myth so far as regards its special point, and the whole incident must apparently be regarded as a remarkable instance of the way in which mountains grow out of molehills—to use a common simile.

8 Cometary Fear and Contemporary Science.

Superstition or False Theories.—Thus far we have proved that Platina is the one authority for all the bold statements cited in the beginning. With a weak foundation the superstructure tumbles. Yet the question might be opened; on the supposition that Platina's account was exact, would there be any ground for bantering? Surely no blame could attach to the Pope; and if there be, then the savants, the mathematicians, the Toscanellis, the Avogarios and the Montealtos are at fault. They are indeed the sowers of uneasiness amongst the people by their forecastings. Nor do we learn of Platina that the Pontiff lent credence to their extravagances; on the contrary, we recognize his reserve in the conditional clause, "*si quid hominibus immineret.*" The mathematicians are then to assume all responsibility.

The objection may be raised that the Pope should have unreservedly reproved the fear of comets as a blameworthy superstition. But, although it is true that this fear was sometimes allied to superstitious notions on the signification of comets, it is absolutely false to state that

this was always so. Superstition exists only when comets are held to be the presages of coming events which have no natural or causal connection with them. Now in Platina's account famine and disease only are at issue, physical calamities these, which, according to the medical science of those days might be attributed to cometary influence. Appropriately does Wilhelm Meyer remark (*Das Weltgebäude*, 201) :

"Cometary superstition, especially the notion that there must be a connecting link between the appearance of these celestial intruders and epidemics, was to a degree justifiable as long as it was beyond science to demonstrate clearly that comets were of cosmic composition. Well do we check our sneers against the many other presentiments of hundredfold evils attached of yore to these tail-bearing stars! Only in our enlightened century, made wise to a true scientific knowledge of these worlds beyond ours, might we coin the term *cometary superstition*, whereas up to the middle of the seventeenth century they were so many puzzlers from which aught might be expected."

NEWTON.—We shall now call upon the immortal Sir Isaac Newton to acquaint us with the important rôle assigned by the savants of the end of the seventeenth century to comets in the formation of the universe and especially of the earth (NEWTON. *Philosophiæ Naturalis Principia Mathematica*, prop. 42).

"So also fixed stars, which have been gradually wasted by the light and vapors emitted from them for a long time, may be recruited by comets that fall upon them; and from this fresh supply of new fuel those old stars, acquiring new splendor, may pass for new stars. . . . The vapors which arise from the sun, the fixed stars, and the tails of the comets, may meet at last with, and fall into the atmospheres of the planets by their gravity, and there be condensed and burned into water and humid

spirits; and from thence, by a slow heat, pass gradually into the form of salts, and sulphurs, and tinctures, and mud, and clay, and sand, and stones, and coral, and other terrestrial substances."

Touching the gaseous matter which emanates from the head of the comet and becomes rarified in space, he says:

"And it is not unlikely but that the vapor, thus perpetually rarified and dilated, may be at last dissipated and scattered through the whole heavens, and by little and little be attracted towards the planets by its gravity and mixed with their atmosphere; for as the seas are absolutely necessary to the constitution of our earth, that from them, the sun, by its heat, may exhale a sufficient quantity of vapors, which, being gathered together into clouds, may drop down in rain, for watering of the earth, and for the production and nourishment of vegetables; or, being condensed with cold on the tops of mountains (as some philosophers with reason judge), may run down in springs and rivers; so for the conservation of the seas, and fluids of the planets, comets seem to be required, that, from their exhalations and vapors condensed, the wastes of the planetary fluids spent upon vegetation and putrefaction, and converted into dry earth, may be continually supplied and made up; for all vegetables entirely derive their growths from fluids, and afterwards, in great measure, are turned into dry earth by putrefaction; and a sort of slime is always found to settle at the bottom of putrefied fluids; and hence it is that the bulk of the solid earth is continually increased; and the fluids, if they are not supplied from without, must be in a continual decrease, and quite fail at last. *I suspect, moreover, that it is chiefly from the comets that spirit comes, which is indeed the smallest but the most subtle and useful part of our air, and so much required to sustain the life of all things with us.*"

ARAGO.—At a much later date Arago saw fit to open the discussion of the following points: Could the earth cut its way through a comet's tail, and what would be

the consequences for our globe? With the first question answered in the affirmative, he argues that the presence of a new gas in the earth's atmosphere might, in proportion to its density, endanger the lives of all living beings or cause lesser epidemics. Moreover, when in 1831, a dense fog of several weeks' duration, due to unknown causes, enveloped the greater part of the globe, many saddled the blame of it on a comet's tail and claimed, too, that the then raging epidemic of cholera morbus in European cities was attributable to the same influence.

Nor do we find the twentieth century immune from these superstitious apprehensions.

Dr. David Smart, assuming that the comet will pass perihelion on April 16th, finds that it will be at the descending node in the morning of May 16th and that the earth will pass the line of nodes about two and a half days later.

The comet's orbit at the node measures about thirteen million leagues from the earth's orbit. Postulating then for the gas a velocity that is not at all extraordinary, he calculates that it would be possible "that matter thrown off by the comet at the node may enter our atmosphere, in *which case we must hope that cyanogen, which so often appears in cometary spectra, may not be inconveniently in evidence.*" (*Journal of the B. A. A.*, 1909, pp. 121-124.)

Granting, for argument's sake, that Callistus III had not promptly and unreservedly rejected the mathematicians' opinion and that he had called for certain processions to quiet an anxious people, to shield them from harm that might be consequent on the comet's coming, we fail to see that it becomes a fair unbiassed historian

to accuse the Pope of ignorance and gross superstition. Would anyone, therefore, be justified in representing the Chief of Christendom as a half-savage, attempting by aid of bell-ringing and exorcism to intimidate a comet into quitting its station in the sky?

9 Alexander VII and the Comet of 1664. Conclusion.

By way of a closing word we recall an episode in which also figure a comet, "mathematicians" and a Pope. In 1664 a magnificent comet having appeared, many people were greatly alarmed, as Lubienietzki, in the first volume of his *Theatrum Cometicum*, shows. Alexander VII consulted the savants:

"By order of the Sovereign Pontiff a meeting of Astrologers, so it is related, was called in Bologna to gather their opinion of the comet. The verdict was that from time immemorial no such *monster* was on record. Also, that, conjecturing from the histories of the ancients, this comet would seem to foreshadow a dire calamity to Italy, or to some maritime cities or republics."

In a letter written from Rome by Father Athanasius Kircher to Father Caspar Schott, in Ingolstadt, we see what impression the predictions of the astrologers made on the mind of the Sovereign Pontiff:

"Not a word do I write you about the comet, heralded the world over, for pamphlets that treat of it are fully apace with the number of astrologers. I purpose keeping my hands out of the broth which so many cooks have seasoned. This at the instance of the Holy Father who quite recently, as is his custom, invited me to a literary table chat, and in the course of the conversation made reference to the comet, the forebodings of astronomers and soothsayers, with such learning that one would fancy

he had been a master in their profession from his cradle. He is not in sympathy with the theory that maintains the permanency and solidity of the heavens and repudiates the popular and awkward notion of the peripatetics as not in keeping with facts and the minds of the Fathers of the Church. *The fearful apprehensions of potentates and the prognostications of astrological soothsayers he brands as so many wild dreams.* The sin of mankind is the comet, which, by the just permission of God, brings upon the universe untold miseries. But to change the conversation, etc.

"Your Reverence's servant in Christ,
"Rome, January 31, 1665. ATHANASIUS."

Dr. J. H. Maedler, director of the Dorpat observatory, pretends* that even in Lubienietzki's and Hevel's time superstition had such a hold on Europeans that anyone who dared to question this "Scourge of an angry God" would have been burnt at the stake.

We trust that we have rendered some service to the historians of Halley's comet who will have to record its appearance in 1910, and that we have henceforth relegated the anecdote of the Pope and the comet to the realm of fables. We would wish it so for the honor of astronomy, that serene and sublime science which abhors sensational banalities and historical lies.

* MAEDLER, *Populäre Astronomie*, 1852, p. 302. Maedler is one of those of whom Father Gerard says: "They feel assured that the more absurdities they attribute to medieval folk the surer they are to be right."

Encyclical

On the Centenary of the Canonization of St. Charles Borromeo

To the Patriarchs, Primates, Archbishops, Bishops, and other Ordinaries in peace and communion with the Apostolic See.

PIUS X POPE

*Venerable Brothers,
Health and Apostolic Benediction.*

What the Divine word time and again records in the Sacred Scriptures: that the just man shall live in eternal memory of praise and that he speaks even when dead (1), is specially verified by the voice and the continued work of the Church. For she, mother and nurse of sanctity that she is, ever rejuvenated and rendered fruitful by the breath of *the Holy Spirit who dwells within us* (2), as she alone generates, nourishes, and brings up within her bosom the most noble family of the just, so too, she is the most solicitous, by an instinct as it were of maternal love, in preserving their memory and in stimulating love for them. And from this remembrance she derives a comfort that is almost divine and that draws her eyes from the miseries of this mortal pilgrimage to see in the saints *her joy and her crown*, to recognize in them the sublime image of her heavenly Spouse, and to inculcate upon her children with new evidence the old truth: *To them that*

love God all things work together unto good to such as according to His purpose are called to be saints(3). And their glorious works are not only a comfort to the memory, but a light for imitation and a strong incentive to virtue through that unanimous echo of the saints which responds to the voice of Paul; *Be ye followers of me as I also am of Christ*(4).

For these reasons, Venerable Brothers, when We immediately on Our elevation to the Supreme Pontificate made known Our intention of working constantly that "all things might be restored in Christ," in Our first Encyclical Letter(5), We studied earnestly to make all turn their eyes with Us to Jesus, *the Apostle and Pontiff of our confession, the Author and Finisher of our faith*(6). But since our weakness is such that we are apt to be confounded by the greatness of such an Exemplar, We had, through the kindness of Divine Providence, another model to propose, one who while being as close to Christ as it is possible for human nature to reach, is better adapted to our weakness, namely the Ever-Blessed Virgin, the August Mother of God(7). Moreover, availing Ourselves of various occasions to revive the memory of the saints, We have held up for universal admiration those faithful servants and ministers in the house of God, and each in his proper degree those friends of His and members of His household, *who by faith conquered kingdoms, wrought justice, obtained promises*(8), that we might be urged on by their example *that henceforth we be no more children, tossed to and fro, and carried about with every wind of doctrine by the wickedness of men, by cunning craftiness by which they lie in wait to deceive; but doing the truth in charity, we may in all things grow up in Him who is the head, even Christ*(9).

Four Great Luminaries of the Church.

This most lofty design of Divine Providence We showed forth as realized in the highest degree in three personages who flourished as great Doctors and Pastors at periods far apart but each period almost equally calamitous for the Church; Gregory the Great, John Chrysostom, and Anselm of Aosta, whose solemn centenaries have fallen in these latter years. Thus more especially in the two Encyclical Letters given on March 12, 1904, and on April 21, 1909, We expounded those points of doctrine and precepts of Christian life, which seemed to us to be suitable for our own times, and which are to be found in the example and teaching of these saints.

And since we are persuaded that the illustrious examples set by the soldiers of Christ are far better calculated to stir and draw souls than words or deep treatises(10) We now gladly avail Ourselves of another happy opportunity which is presented to Us to commend the most useful lessons to be drawn from another holy Pastor raised up by God in times nearer to our own and amid tempests almost identical with those through which we are passing, that Cardinal of Holy Roman Church and Archbishop of Milan, Charles Borromeo, by Paul V of holy memory numbered among the saints. And not less better adapted to Our purpose, for, to quote the words of Our Predecessor, "the Lord who alone works great wonders, has done magnificent things with us in these latter times, and in His wonderful dispensation. He has erected a great luminary above the Apostolic rock, by choosing Charles from the bosom of the Most Holy Roman Church to be a

faithful priest, a good servant, a model for the flock and model for pastors; who lighting up the whole Church with the varied brilliancy of his holy works shines out before priests and people as an Abel in innocence, an Enoch in purity, a Jacob in bearing labors, a Moses in meekness, an Elias in burning zeal; who shows forth in himself for our imitation the authority of a Jeremias, amid an abundance of luxuries, the humility of a Martin in its highest grade, the pastoral solicitude of a Gregory, the liberty of an Ambrose, the charity of a Paulinus; who, in fine, gives us to see with our eyes and to touch with our hands a man who, while the world smiles with all its blandishments upon him, lives crucified to the world, lives of the spirit, trampling earthly things underfoot, seeking continuously the things of heaven, and that not merely because by his office occupying the place of an Angel, but because he strove on earth to think the thoughts and do the works of the life of the Angels"(11).

St. Charles Borromeo, the Reformer

Thus Our Predecessor five lustres after the death of Charles. And now three centuries after the glorification decreed to him, "with good reason are Our lips full of joy and Our tongue of exultation on the great day of Our solemnity, whereon with the decreeing of the sacred honors to Charles Cardinal Priest of the Holy Roman Church, over which by the disposition of the Lord We preside, a crown rich in all precious stones was given to his only Spouse." Thus We have in common with Our Predecessor the confidence that from the contemplation of the glory and still more from the teaching and example of the Saints, the frowardness of the impious may be hu-

miliated, and all those confounded who "glory in the simulacrum of their errors" (12). Thus the renewal of the glorification of Charles, model of the flock and of pastors in modern times, unwearied defender and advocate of the true Catholic reform against those innovators whose aim was not the restoration but rather the deformation and destruction of faith and morals, will serve after three centuries as a source of special comfort and instruction for all Catholics, and a noble incentive to them to co-operate strenuously in the works We have so much at heart of the restoration of all things in Christ.

The Providence that Watches Over the Church.

It is certainly well known to you, Venerable Brothers, that the Church, although ever in tribulation, is never left by God wholly without consolation. *For Christ loved the Church and delivered Himself up for it, that He might sanctify it. . . . and present it to Himself a glorious Church not having spot or wrinkle, or any such thing, but that it should be holy and without blemish* (13). Nay, when the licentiousness of morals is most unbridled, the onslaught of persecution most fierce, and most cunning the wiles of error, that seem to threaten her with utter ruin, and that tear from her bosom not a few of her children to plunge them in the vortex of impiety and vice, it is then that the Church finds Divine protection more efficacious than ever. For, with or without the consent of the wicked, God makes error itself serve for the triumph of the truth of which the Church is the defender and the guardian; makes corruption serve for the increase of sanctity of which she is the nursing mother and mistress, and persecution serve for a more wonderful freedom

from *our enemies*. And thus it happens that when to profane eyes the Church seems to be buffeted and almost submerged by the rage of the storm, it is then she comes forth fairer, stronger, purer, refulgent with the splendor of the greatest virtues.

In this way the supreme goodness of God ever confirms with new proofs that the Church is a Divine work, because in the most painful trial, that of the errors and sins which insinuate themselves in its very members, He makes her triumph in the combat, because He shows in it the truth of the words of Christ: *The gates of hell shall not prevail against it*(14), because He proves by the reality the truth of the promise; *Behold I am with you all days even to the consummation of the world*(15); and finally because He gives testimony of that mysterious virtue by which *another Paraclete*, promised by Christ immediately on His return to heaven, continually pours out his gifts upon it and defends and controls it in all tribulation; *a Spirit who abides with it forever; the spirit of truth whom the world cannot receive, because it seeth him not nor knoweth him. . . . because he shall abide in you, and shall be in you*(16). From this fount wells the life and force of the Church; and by this too, as the ecumenical Vatican Council teaches, it is distinguished from all other societies by the manifest notes wherewith it is signalized and constituted "as a banner raised up among the nations" (17).

And truly, only a miracle of the Divine power could ensure that the Church amid the flood of corruption and the lapses of its members, as the mystic body of Christ remains indefectible in the holiness of its doctrine, of its laws, of its end; from these same causes derives fruitful results; from the faith and justice of many of her chil-

dren gathers most copious fruits of salvation. No less clear appears the seal of its divine life in that amid so vast and foul a mass of perverse opinions, amid such numbers of rebels, amid so multiform a variety of errors, it perseveres immutable and constant, *as the pillar and ground of truth*, in the profession of one and the same doctrine, in the communion of the same sacraments, in its divine constitution, in its government, in its morals. And this is all the more wonderful inasmuch as the Church not only resists evil, but *conquers evil with good*, and never ceases from blessing friends and enemies alike, while it works and yearns with all its soul to effect the Christian renovation of society as well as of the individuals that compose it. For this is its special mission in the world, and of this its very enemies experience the benefit.

The Evil Days of St. Charles Borromeo.

This wonderful influx of Divine Providence in the work of restoration promoted by the Church shines forth with splendor in that century which, for the comfort of the good, saw the appearance of St. Charles Borromeo. In those days passions ran riot and the knowledge of the truth was almost completely perverted and obscured; there was a continual struggle with errors, and human society, going from bad to worse, seemed to be rushing towards the abyss. In the midst of these errors rose up proud and rebellious men, *enemies of the cross of Christ*. . . . men of *earthly sentiments whose god is their belly*(18). These, bent not on correcting morals but on denying the dogmas, multiplied the disorders, loosening for themselves and for others the bridle of licentiousness, and contemning the authoritative guidance of the Church

to pander to the passions of the most corrupt princes and peoples, with a virtual tyranny overturned its doctrine, constitution, discipline.

Then, imitating these sinners to whom was addressed the menace: *Woe to you who call evil good and good evil*(19), that tumult of rebellion and that perversion of faith and morals they called reformation and themselves reformers. But, in truth, they were corrupters for, undermining with dissensions and wars the forces of Europe, they paved the way for the rebellions and the apostasy of modern times, in which were united and renewed in one onslaught those three kinds of conflict, hitherto separated, from which the Church had always issued victorious: the bloody conflicts of the first ages, then the internal pest of heresies, and finally, under the name of evangelical liberty, a vicious corruption and a perversion of discipline unknown perhaps in medieval times.

True and False Reformers.

To this crowd of seducers God opposed real reformers and holy men to arrest the impetuous current and extinguish the conflagration, and to repair the harm already done. Their assiduous and manifold work for the reformation of discipline was all the more comforting to the Church by reason of the grave tribulation that afflicted it, and afforded a proof of the words: *God is faithful who. . . . also with temptation will make issue*(20). It was in these circumstances that by a providential disposition the singular zeal and sanctity of Charles Borromeo came to bring fresh consolation to the Church.

For God so ordained that his ministry was to have a force and efficacy all its own not only in checking the

audacity of the factions but in teaching and kindling the children of the Church. He curbed the mad ardors of the former and refuted their futile charges with the most powerful eloquence: by the example of his life and labors he raised the hopes of the latter and revived their zeal. And it was truly wonderful how from his youth he united in himself all those qualities of the real reformer, which in others we see scattered and isolated: virtue, sense, doctrine, authority, power, alacrity; and how he combined them all to serve for the defence of Catholic truth against the onrush of heresies as is the proper mission of the Church, reviving the faith that had grown dormant and almost extinct in many, strengthening it by provident laws and institutions, restoring the discipline that had been dethroned, and strenuously leading back the morals of the clergy and people to the tenor of Christian life. Thus, while he accomplishes all the offices of the reformer, he also duly discharges all the functions of the *good and faithful servant*, and later those of the great priest who *pleased God in his days and was found just*, and therefore worthy to be taken as an example by all classes of persons, clergy and laity, rich and poor; like those whose excellence is summarized in the encomium of bishop and prelate, by which obeying the words of the Apostle Peter he made himself a *pattern of the flock from the heart* (21). No less admirable is the fact that Charles, before reaching the age of twenty-three, although raised to the highest honors, and entrusted with important and most difficult affairs of the Church, made daily progress in the more perfect exercise of virtue, through that contemplation of Divine things which in sacred retirement had already renewed him, and he shone forth *a spectacle to the world, to the angels and to men*.

St. Charles and the Council of Trent.

Then, indeed, to use again the words of Our Predecessor Paul V, the Lord began to show forth in Charles *His wonders*: wisdom, justice, burning zeal in promoting the glory of God and the Catholic name, and above all things solicitude for that work of restoration of the faith and of the universal Church which was treated in the august Gathering of Trent. The Pontiff himself and all posterity assigned to him the merit of the celebration of this Council, inasmuch as he, before becoming the most faithful executor of it, was its most efficacious promoter. Indeed were it not for his many vigils, trials and labors, that work would not have attained its ultimate completion.

And yet all these things were but a preparation and a noviciate, in which his heart was trained with piety, his mind with study, his body with labor, while he always kept himself, modest and humble youth that he was, as clay in the hands of God and God's Vicar on earth. A life of preparation such as this was just the kind to be despised by the innovators of the time, through that same foolishness which leads the modern innovators to despise it, in their failure to observe that the wonderful works of God are brought to maturity in the shade and silence of the soul dedicated to obedience and prayer, and that in this preparation lies the germ of future progress, as the hope of the harvest lies in the sowing.

The sanctity and laboriousness of Charles, who was then preparing himself under such splendid auspices, developed in due course to produce marvellous fruit, as We have hinted already, when he like the good workman he

was, leaving the splendor and majesty of Rome, retired to the field that he was to cultivate in Milan, and discharging all his offices there better and better every day, brought it to such splendor, from the state of rank growths and wildness to which the evil times had so deplorably reduced it, as to make the Church of Milan a most brilliant example of ecclesiastical discipline (22).

All these striking results he attained by adopting in his work of reformation the rules laid shortly before by the Council of Trent.

For the Church, knowing well how *the imagination and thought of man's heart are prone to evil* (23) never ceases to combat vice and error that *the body of sin may be destroyed to the end that we may serve sin no longer* (24). And in this conflict, as she is a mistress to herself and guided by *the grace which is diffused in our hearts by the Holy Ghost*, so she is governed in her thought and action by the Doctor of the Gentiles who says: *Be ye renewed in the spirit of your mind.—And be not conformed to this world, but be reformed in the newness of your mind, that you may prove what is the good and the acceptable and the perfect will of God* (26). And the son of the Church and true reformer never persuades himself that he has attained the goal, but with the Apostle only protests that he is striving towards it: *Forgetting the things that are behind, and stretching myself to those that are before; I press towards the mark, to the prize of the supernal vocation of God in Christ Jesus* (27).

Thus it is that, united with Christ in the Church, *we in all things grow up in Him who is the head, even Christ, from Whom the whole body maketh its own increase unto the edifying of itself in charity* (28) and

Mother Church realizes more and more that mystery of the Divine will, *in the dispensation of the fulness of times to re-establish all things in Christ* (29).

The False Reformers of Our Own Times.

No thought was given to all this by the Reformers opposed to St. Charles, for they presumed to reform faith and discipline at their own caprice—nor is it better understood, Venerable Brothers, by the Moderns against whom we have to combat to-day. These, too, subvert the doctrine, laws, institutions of the Church, forever talking about culture and civilization, not because they have this so much at heart but because under such sounding words they are enabled the better to conceal the evil nature of their designs.

Their real aims, their plots, the line they are following are well known to all of you, and their designs have been denounced and condemned by Us. What they propose is a universal apostasy from the faith and discipline of the Church, an apostasy still worse than the one which threatened the century of Charles, from the fact that it creeps insidious and hidden in the very veins of the Church and with extreme subtlety pushes erroneous principles to their extreme conclusions.

But both have the same origin in *the enemy who*, ever alert for the perdition of men, *has oversowed cockle among the wheat* (30); of both revolts the ways are hidden and darksome with the same development and the same fatal issue. For as in the past the first apostasy, turning to the side on which fortune seemed to favor it, stirred up the powerful against the people or the people against the powerful only to lead both classes to destruc-

tion, so this modern apostasy stimulates mutual hatred between the poor and the rich until people growing discontented with their lot lead lives more and more miserable and pay the penalty imposed on all who absorbed in earthly and fleeting things seek not *the kingdom of God and his justice*. Nay the present conflict has become all the more grave from the fact that while the turbulent innovators of other times as a rule retained some fragment of the treasure of revealed doctrine, the moderns would seem to have no peace until they have utterly destroyed it. Now, once the foundations of religion are thus overturned the bonds of civil society are also necessarily broken. Truly a spectacle full of sadness for the present and of menace for the future; not because there is any ground for fears as to the safety of the Church, for here the Divine promises do not permit of doubt, but for the dangers that threaten the family and the nations, especially for those who foment with most activity or who tolerate with most indifference this pestiferous wind of impiety.

The Weapons to be Used Against Them.

Amid so impious and so stupid a war, carried on sometimes and propagated with the aid of those who should be the first to support Us and help Our cause; amid this manifold transformation of error and these varied blandishments of vice, by both of which many even of Our own allow themselves to be led astray, seduced as they are by the appearances of novelty and of doctrine, or by the illusion that the Church may well come to a friendly agreement with the maxims of the age, you are well aware, Venerable Brothers, that we must all oppose a

vigorous resistance and repel the assault of the enemy with those very weapons which Charles Borromeo used in his own time.

And first of all, since they are attacking the very rock of faith, either by open denial, or by hypocritical assault, or by misrepresenting revealed doctrine, we shall do well to remember what St. Charles often inculcated, viz., that: "The first and chief care of Pastors must be concerned with all that regards the full and inviolate maintenance of the Catholic faith, the faith which the Holy Church professes and teaches, and without which it is impossible to please God"(31). And again: "In this matter no diligence can be too great to meet what are certainly the requirements of the case." Hence it is necessary to oppose sound doctrine to *the leaven of heretical depravity* which if not repressed corrupts the whole mass, that is, we must oppose the perverse opinions which are making their way under lying semblances and which taken together are professed by *Modernism*; remembering with St. Charles "*how supreme must be the zeal and how diligent above all else must be the care of the bishop to combat the crime of heresy*"(33).

In truth, it is not necessary to record the other words of the Saint in quoting the sanctions, laws, penalties, laid down by the Roman Pontiffs against prelates who are negligent or remiss in purging their dioceses of the evil of heresy. But it will be quite opportune to meditate closely on the conclusions he draws from these: "Hence the bishop must above all things persevere in this eternal solicitude and continuous vigilance not only to prevent the most pestilent disease of heresy from penetrating among the flock committed to him, but even to remove the faintest suspicion of it from them. And should it

happen to penetrate, which may the Lord Christ in His pitiful mercy forbid, he must strive at once by all means in his power to have it driven out immediately, and he must have those who are infected or under suspicion of being infected with the pestilence treated according to the pontifical canons and sanctions"(34).

Necessity of Proper Instruction of Clergy and People.

But neither liberation nor preservation from the pest of error is possible except through proper instruction of the clergy and people for *faith cometh by hearing and hearing by the word of Christ*(35). This necessity of inculcating the truth upon all is more than ever urgent in our days when through all the veins of the State, and from sources whence it might have been least expected, we see the poison penetrate to such a degree that all come within the scope of the reasons alleged by St. Charles in these words: "If those who live close to the heretics be not firm and well-grounded in the foundations of the faith, there is only too much reason to fear that they will easily allow themselves to be drawn by them into some snare of impiety or false doctrine"(36). For nowadays owing to the facility of travel the means of communication have been increased for error as well as for all other things, and by reason of the unbridled liberty of the passions, we live in the midst of a perverted society in which *there is no truth. . . . and the knowledge of God does not exist*(37); *in a land that is desolate. . . . because no one thinketh in the heart*(38). Hence We, to use the words of St. Charles "have hitherto employed much diligence to ensure that the faithful of Christ all and several be well instructed in the rudiments of the Christian

faith"(39), and have written a special encyclical letter on the subject as being one of the most vital importance(40). But although We do not wish to repeat what Charles Borromeo in his burning zeal lamented that "We have hitherto obtained all too little success in a matter of such moment," yet, like him, "swayed by the vastness of the undertaking and of the danger," We would still further kindle the zeal of all, to the end that, taking Charles as their model, they may contribute, each in his grade and according to his strength, in this work of Christian restoration. Let fathers and employers remember with what fervor the holy bishop constantly inculcated upon them not only to afford the opportunity but to impose the obligation of learning Christian doctrine upon their children, servants and employees. Let clerics remember that they must help the parish-priests in this teaching, and let the parish-priests have schools for the purpose multiplied according to the numbers and the necessities of their people, and see to it that they be commendable in the probity of the teachers, who should be assisted by men and women of tried morality, after the method prescribed by the holy Archbishop of Milan(41).

Lay or Neutral Schools.

The necessity of this Christian instruction is obviously increased both by the trend of modern times and customs, and especially by the existence of those public schools, destitute of all religion, in which everything most holy is ridiculed and contemned, and in which the lips of the teachers and the ears of the scholars are equally open to blasphemy. We speak of those schools which with su-

preme injustice are called *lay* or *neutral*, but which in reality are the prey of the domineering tyranny of a darksome sect. This new trick of hypocritical liberty you have already denounced aloud and fearlessly, Venerable Brothers, especially in those countries where the rights of religion and of the family have been most shamelessly trampled upon and in which the very voice of nature, proclaiming that the faith and innocence of youth must be respected, has been stifled. To remedy, as far as was possible for Us, so great an evil inflicted by those same persons who while they claim obedience to themselves deny it to the supreme Master of all things, We have recommended that schools of Christian doctrine be established in the various cities. And while this work, thanks to your efforts, has already made good progress, still it is earnestly to be desired that it be propagated even more widely, and that these schools be established numerous everywhere, and be provided with teachers of sound doctrine and good life.

The Training of the Preacher.

These same qualities are with much greater reason to be looked for in the sacred orator whose office is closely connected with that of the necessary instruction in the first elements of religious teaching. Hence the diligence and the counsels of Charles in the provincial and diocesan Synods were directed with a most special care to the formation of preachers who might be employed with holy zeal and good fruit in *the ministry of the word*. And this too, and perhaps even more urgently, seems to be required in the times in which we live, when the faith is weakening in so many hearts, and when there is no lack

of those who in a spirit of vainglory follow the fashion, *adulterating the word of God*, and depriving souls of the food of life.

With the utmost vigilance, therefore, Venerable Brothers, we must see to it that our flock be not fed on wind by vain and frivolous men, but be nourished with life-giving food by *ministers of the words* of whom it may be said: *of Christ we are ambassadors, God as it were exhorting by us: Be reconciled to God*(42) *not walking in craftiness, nor adulterating the word of God, but by manifestation of the truth commending ourselves to every man's conscience in the sight of God*(43); *workmen that need not to be ashamed and rightly handling the word of truth*(44). Nor less useful for us will be those most holy and most fruitful rules which the bishop of Milan was accustomed to lay down for the faithful and which are summarized in the words of St. Paul: *When you had received from us the word of the hearing of God you received it not as the word of men, but (as it is indeed) the word of God, who worketh in you who have believed*(45).

Thus the word of God, living and effectual and more piercing than any two-edged sword(46), will work not only for the conservation and defence of the faith, but as an efficacious impulse to good works, for *faith without works is dead* (47) *for not the hearers of the law are just before God, but the doers of the law shall be justified*(48).

Here too we see again how immense is the difference between real and false reform. For those who advocate the false, imitating the inconstancy of the foolish, are wont to rush to extremes, either by exalting faith in such a way as to exclude good works, or ascribing to nature alone all the excellence of virtue without the aids of faith and divine grace. Whereas the acts proceeding

from merely natural uprightness are but the simulacra of virtue, neither lasting in themselves nor sufficient for salvation. The work of such reformers, therefore, is not adopted to restore discipline, but is fatal to faith and morals.

A Characteristic of True Reform.

On the other hand those who like St. Charles, sincerely and straightforwardly seek true and salutary reform, avoid extremes and never outstep those limits beyond which true reform cannot subsist. United as they are in the closest links with the Church and its Head, Christ, they not only derive thence strength for their interior life, but learn rules for their public action to enable them to devote themselves with sure purpose to the work of healing human society. Now of this divine mission, transmitted perpetually to those who have to be the legates of Christ, it is the function *to teach all nations*, and not only the things that are to be believed, but the things that are to be done, that is, as Christ Himself said: *Observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you* (49). *For He is the way, the truth and the life* (50) and He came that men *may have life and have it more abundantly* (51). But since to fulfil all those duties with the sole guidance of nature is something far beyond what the forces of man can by themselves attain, the Church possesses, together with her magisterium, the power of governing human society and that of sanctifying it, while she communicates the opportune and necessary means of salvation through those who, in their several grades and offices, are her ministers and co-operators.

Understanding this well, the true reformers do not kill the blossom in order to save the root, that is, they do not separate faith from holiness of life, but foster both of them and warm them with the breath of charity which is *the bond of perfection*(52). Thus, obeying the Apostle, do they *keep the deposit*(53), not to obstruct its manifestation or dim its light for the nations, but rather to send farther and wider the most saving waters of truth and life which well from that spring. And in this they combine theory with practice, availing themselves of the former to prevent all the *wiles of error*, and of the latter to apply the precepts to the morals and action of life. Therefore, too, they provide all the means opportune or necessary for the attainment of the end, both as regards the extirpation of error and *for the perfection of the saints, for the work of the ministry, the building up of the body of Christ*(54). This was the scope of the statutes, the canons, the laws of the Fathers and Councils, and all those means of instruction, government, sanctification, and beneficence of all kinds, and, in fine, all the discipline and activity of the Church. On such masters as these of faith and morals the true son of the Church fixes his eyes and his heart, when he aims at the reformation of himself and others. And on such masters, too, Borromeo relies in his reformation of ecclesiastical discipline. He often refers to them, as when he writes: "We, following the ancient custom of the Holy Fathers and the sacred Councils, and especially of the Ecumenical Synod of Trent, have laid down many dispositions concerning these same points in Our preceding provincial Councils"(55). So, too, in making provision for the suppression of public scandals he declares that he is guided "both by the law and by the sacred sanctions of the

sacred canons, and above all of the Council of Trent"(55).

How St. Charles Aided the Popes.

And not content with this, in order the better to ensure that he may never depart from this rule, he is wont to conclude the statutes of his provincial Synods thus: "The things all and single which have been decreed and done by Us in this provincial Synod, We submit always, to be amended and corrected, to the authority and judgment of the Roman Church, of all churches the Mother and Mistress"(56). And this purpose of his he showed forth ever more fervently as he advanced with giant strides in the perfection of the active life, not only while the Chair of Peter was occupied by the Pontiff who was his uncle, but also under the successors of the latter, Pius V and Gregory XIII. The election of these he powerfully aided, and he supported them strenuously in their great undertakings, corresponding perfectly with what they expected from him.

But above all did he second them in putting into execution the practical means to attain the end in view, viz., the real reform of sacred discipline. Here again he showed himself as far as possible removed from the false reformers who mask their obstinate disobedience under an appearance of zeal. Beginning *with the judgment of the House of God*(57), he applied himself first of all to reform the discipline of the clergy by constant laws, and to this end erected seminaries for the students for the priesthood, founded the congregation of priests known as Oblates, united religious families ancient and modern, assembled Councils, and by provisions of all kinds as-

sured and developed the work that had been undertaken. Then, without delay, he set his hand with equal vigor to reform the morals of the people, regarding as said to himself what was said to the Prophet: *Lo I have set thee. . . . to root up and pull down and to waste, and to destroy, and to build, and to plant*(58). Thus the good shepherd that he was, visiting personally the churches of the province, not without fatigue, like the Divine Master *he went about doing good and healing* the wounds of the flock; he put forth every effort to suppress and eradicate the abuses he met on all sides, due either to ignorance or the neglect of the laws; to the perversion of ideas and the corruption of morals that abounded he raised up barriers in the form of the schools and colleges he opened for the children and for youth, the Marian societies which he developed after having seen them in their early flowering here in Rome, the hospices he threw open for the orphans, the refuges he established for girls in danger, for widows, for mendicants, for men and women rendered destitute by sickness or old age, by his protection of the poor against the tyranny of masters, against usurers, against the enslaving of children, and by great numbers of other institutions. But all this he effected shunning entirely the methods of those who would renew human society after their own fashion by overturning everything, by agitation, by vain noise, forgetting the Divine words: *The Lord is not found in commotion*(59).

Unselfishness and Humility of the True Reformer.

Just here is another point in which the real reformers differ from the false, as you, Venerable Brothers, have

often experienced. The false reformers *seek their own interests, not those of Jesus Christ*(60), and giving ear to the insidious invitation once made to the Divine Master: *Manifest thyself to the world*(61), they also repeat the ambitious words: *Let us also get us a name*, and by this temerity, which we have alas! to deplore in our own time, *some priests fell in battle, wishing to do great things they went out without prudence*(62).

The true reformer, on the contrary *seeks not his own glory but the glory of Him who hath sent him*(63), and like Christ his exemplar *he shall not contend nor cry and his voice shall not be heard abroad, he shall not be turbulent or unquiet*(64), but he shall be *meek and humble of heart*(65). Hence he will please the Lord and bear most copious fruits of salvation.

In still another way are they distinguished from one another, for the false reformer *trusteth in man and maketh flesh his arm*(66), while the true reformer puts all his trust in God, and looks to Him and to supernatural assistance for all his strength and virtue, exclaiming with the Apostle: *All things I can do in Him who strengtheneth me*(67).

These aids, which Christ communicated in rich abundance, the faithful reformer looks for in the Church itself to which they have been given for the salvation of all and among them especially prayer, sacrifice, the sacraments, which become *a fountain of water springing up to life everlasting*(68). But all such means are repugnant to those who by crooked ways and in forgetfulness of God busy themselves with reformation and who never cease trying to render turbid or dry up altogether those crystal springs, so that the flock of Christ may be deprived of them. And here they are even surpassed by

their modern followers who under a mask of the deepest religiousness hold in no account these means of salvation, and throw discredit on them, especially the two sacraments by which sin is pardoned for penitent souls and souls are strengthened with celestial food. Let all faithful pastors, therefore, endeavor with all zeal to ensure that benefits of such great price be held in the highest honor, nor suffer these two works of Divine charity to languish in the affections of men.

Frequent Communion.

Such was the conduct of Borromeo among whose writings we read: "Since the fruit of the sacraments is so great and so abundant that its value cannot easily be explained, they should be treated and received with the utmost diligence, with the deepest piety of the soul and with external cult and veneration"(69). Most worthy of note also are the recommendations with which he exhorts parish-priests and preachers to revive the ancient practice of frequent communion, as We have also done by Our decree: *Tridentina Synodus*. "Parish-priests and preachers," says the holy bishop, "should exhort the people as often as possible to the most salutary practice of receiving the Holy Eucharist frequently, relying on the institutions and examples of the early Church, on the recommendations of the most authoritative Fathers, on the doctrine of the Roman Catechism which treats of this matter at length, and finally on the teaching of the Council of Trent which would have the faithful communicate in every mass not only by receiving the Eucharist spiritually but also sacramentally"(70). He describes too the intention and affection with which this sacred ban-

quet should be approached, in these words: "The people should not only be incited to receive the most holy Sacrament frequently, but should also be warned how dangerous and fatal it is to approach unworthily this sacred table of Divine food"(71). The same diligence would seem to be especially necessary in our times of vacillating faith and charity grown cold in order that the increase in frequency may not be accomplished by a diminution in the reverence due to so great a mystery, but that rather it may bring with it a motive to make *man prove himself and so eat of that bread and drink of that chalice*(72).

From these founts will spring a rich stream of grace, which will give vigor and nourishment also to natural and human means. The action of the Christian will by no means neglect the things that are of use and solace to life, for they too come from the same God, the Author of grace and of nature; but it will be careful when seeking and enjoying external things and the goods of the body not to make of them the end and happiness of life. He who uses these human things rightly and temperately, therefore, will employ them for the salvation of souls, in obedience to the words of Christ: *Seek first the kingdom of God and his justice and all these things will be added unto you*(73).

Benefits of Christian Reformers to Human Society.

This properly ordered and wise use of the means is so far from being in opposition with happiness of a lower kind, viz.: that proper to human society, that on the contrary it serves greatly to promote its interests; not by vain boasting, as is the fashion with factious reformers, but by deeds and by heroic striving, even to the sacrifice

of property, strength, and life itself. Many an example of this fortitude is given us by bishops who, in evil days for the Church, vying with the zeal of Charles, realize the words of the Divine Master: *The good shepherd gives his life for his sheep* (74). They are led to sacrifice themselves for the good, influenced not by ambition for glory or by party spirit or by the stimulus of any private interest but by that *charity which never faileth*. Kindled by this flame, which escapes profane eyes, Borromeo, after having exposed his life in attending the victims of the plague, did not confine himself to affording aid against present evils, but turned his solicitude to those which the future might have in store: "It is altogether reasonable that just as an excellent father who loves his children with a single-hearted affection provides for their future as well as their present, by preparing for them what is necessary for their lives, so We moved by the duty of paternal love are making provision with all foresight for the faithful of Our province and are preparing for the future those aids which we have known by experience during the time of the plague to be salutary" (75).

The same designs and plans of affectionate forethought, Venerable Brothers, find a practical application in that Catholic Action which We have frequently recommended. To take part in this most noble apostolate, which embraces all the works of mercy that are to be rewarded with the eternal kingdom (76) the elite are called. But when they assume this burden they must be ready and fit to make a complete sacrifice of themselves and all things belonging to them for the good cause, to bear envy, contradiction and even the hatred of many who will repay their benefits with ingratitude, to labor like *good soldiers of Christ* (77), to run by *patience to*

the fight proposed to us, looking on Jesus, the author and finisher of faith. A conflict, assuredly, of great difficulty, but one that is most efficacious for the well-being of civil society even though complete victory be slow in coming.

St. Charles and Persecution.

In this respect, too, it is given to us to admire the splendid example set by St. Charles and to derive from it, each according to his own condition, matter for imitation and comfort. For although his singular virtue, his marvellous activity and his abundant charity made him worthy of so much respect, yet even he was not exempt from the law: *All that will live godly in Christ Jesus shall suffer persecution* (79). Thus the very fact that he led a very austere life, that he always stood up for righteousness and honesty, that he was an incorruptible defender of law and justice, brought upon him the hostility of powerful men and the trickeries of diplomats, caused him later to be distrusted by the nobility, the clergy and the people, and eventually drew upon him the deadly hatred of the wicked so that his very life was sought. Yet, though of a mild and gentle disposition, he held out against all this with invincible courage.

Never did he yield in anything that would be hurtful to faith and morals or in the face of claims contrary to discipline or burdensome on the faithful even when these were made by a most powerful monarch who was also a Catholic. Mindful of the words of Christ: *Give unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's and to God the things that are God's* (80), and of the declaration of the Apostles: *It is better to obey God rather than men* (81) he became a supreme benefactor not only of the cause of

religion, but of civil society itself, which, paying the penalty of its foolish prudence and almost overwhelmed by the storms of sedition which itself had raised, was rushing upon certain destruction.

An Example for Bishops and Catholics To-day.

The same praise and gratitude will be due to the Catholics of our time and to their courageous leaders the bishops, when they never fail in any of the duties of good citizens, either when it is a question of showing loyalty and respect to *wicked rulers* when these command what is just, or resisting their commands when they are iniquitous, holding themselves equally aloof from the froward rebellion of those who have recourse to sedition and tumult and from the servile abjection of those who receive as sacred laws the manifestly impious statutes of perverse men who under the lying name of liberty subvert all things and impose on those subject to them the harshest kind of tyranny.

This is happening in the sight of the whole world and in the full light of modern civilization, in some nations especially, where *the powers of darkness* seem to have taken up their headquarters. Under this domineering tyranny all the rights of the children of the Church are being trampled upon and the hearts of those in power have become closed to all those sentiments of generosity, courtesy, and faith which for so long shone forth in their forefathers who gloried in the name of Christians. But it is evident that where hatred of God and of the Church exists everything goes backward precipitously towards the barbarism of ancient liberty, or rather towards that most cruel yoke from which only the family of Christ and the

education introduced by it has freed us. Borromeo expressed the same thought when he said "it is a certain and well-recognized fact that by no other crime is God more gravely offended, by none provoked to greater wrath, than by the vice of heresy, and that nothing contributes more to the ruin of provinces and kingdoms than this frightful pest"(82). Yet as far more deadly must be regarded the modern conspiracy to tear Christian nations from the bosom of the Church, as We have already said.

For the enemies of the Church, although in utter discord of thought and will among themselves, which is the sure mark of error, are at one only in their obstinate assaults upon truth and justice; and as the Church is the guardian and defender of both of those, against the Church alone they close up their ranks for an united attack. And although they are wont to proclaim their impartiality and to assert that they are promoting the cause of peace, in reality by their mild words and their avowed intentions they are only laying snares to add insult to injury, treason to violence. A new species of war is, therefore, now being waged against Christianity and one far more dangerous than those conflicts of other times in which Borromeo won so much glory.

But taking example and instruction from him we shall be animated to battle vigorously for those lofty interests upon which depends the salvation of the individual and of society, for faith and religion and the inviolability of public right; we shall fight, it is true, under the spur of a bitter necessity, but at the same time cheered by the fair hope that the omnipotence of God will speed the victory for those who fight so glorious a battle—a hope which gathers greater strength from the powerful efficacy, persisting

down to our own days, of the work done by St. Charles both in humbling pride and in strengthening the resolution to restore all things in Christ.

And now, Venerable Brothers, We may conclude in the words with which Our Predecessor, Paul V, already several times mentioned, concluded the Letters decreeing the supreme honors to Charles: "It is right, meanwhile, that we render glory and honor and blessing to Him Who lives through all ages, Who blessed our fellow-servant with all spiritual benediction to make him holy and spotless in His sight. And the Lord having given him to us a star shining this night of sin and of our tribulation, let us have recourse to the Divine clemency, supplicating by mouth and deed that Charles who loved the Church so ardently and helped her so greatly by his merits and example, may now assist her by his patronage, and in the day of wrath make peace for us through Christ our Lord "(83).

To this prayer be added for the fulfilment of all hopes the token of the Apostolic Benediction which with warm affection We impart to you, Venerable Brothers and to the clergy and people of each one of you.

Given at Rome at St. Peter's, May 26, 1910, in the seventh year of Our Pontificate.

PIUS X POPE.

(1) Ps. CXI, 7; - Prov. X, 7; - Hebr. XI, 4. — (2) Rom. VIII, 11.—(3) Rom. VIII, 28.—(4) I Cor. IV, 16.—(5) Litt. Encycl. "E supremi" die IV m., Octobr. MCMIII.—(6) Hebr. III, 1; XII, 2-3.—(7) Litt. Encycl. "Ad diem illum," die II m. Februar, MCMIV.—(8) Hebr. XI, 33.—(9) Eph. IV, 11 sqq.—(10) Encycl. "E supremi."—(11) Ex Bulla "Unigenitus" Gal. Nov. anno MDCX.—(12) Ex eadem Bulla "Unigenitus"—(13) Eph. V, 25 sqq.—(14) Matth. XVI, 18.—(15) Matth. XXVIII, 20, (16) Ioan. XIV, 16 sqq. - XVI, 7 sqq.—(17) Sessio III, Const. "Dei Filius," cap 3.—(18) Philip. III, 18, 19.—(19) Isai. V, 20.—(20) I Cor. X., 13.—(21) I Petr. V, 3.—(22) Ex Bulla "Unigenitus."—(23) Gen. VIII, 21.—(24) Rom. VI, 6.—(25) Eph. IV, 23.—(26) Rom. XII, 2.—(27) Philip. III, 13, 14.—(28) Ephes. IV, 15, 16.—(29) Ephes. I 9, 10.—(30) Matth. XIII, 25.—(31) Conc. Prov. I, sub initium.—(32) Conc. Prov. V, Pars. I.—(33) Con. Prov. V, Pars. I.—(34) Ibid.—(35) Rom. X, 17.—(36) Conc. Prov. V, Pars. I.—(37) Os. IV, 1.—(38) Ierem. XII, 11.—(39) Conc. Prov. V, Pars. I.—(40) Encycl. "Acerbo nimis" die XXV m. Aprilis MDCCCCV.—(41) Conc. Prov. V, Pars. I.—(42) II Cor. V, 20.—(43) II Cor. IV, 2.—(44) II Tim. II, 15.—(45) I Thess. II, 13.—(46) Hebr. IV, 12.—(47) Iacob. II, 26.—(48) Rom. II, 13.—(49) Matth. XXVIII, 18-20.—(50) Ioan. XIV, 6.—(51) Ioan. X, 10.—(52) Coloss. III, 14.—(53) I Tim. VI, 20.—(54) Eph IV, 12.—(55) Conc. Prov. V, Pars I.—(56) Conc. Prov. VI, sub finem.—(57) I Petr. IV, 17.—(58) Ier. I, 10.—(59) III Reg. XIX, 11.—(60) Philip. II, 21.—(61) Ioan. VII, 4.—(62) I Machab. V, 57, 67.—(63) Ioan. VII, 18.—(64) Isai. XLII, 2 sq. - Matth. XII, 19.—(65) Matth. XI, 29.—(66) Ier. XVII, 5.—(67) Philip. IV, 13.—(68) Ioan. IV, 14.—(69) Conc. Prov. I, Pars. II.—(70) Conc. Prov. III, Pars. I.—(71) Conc. Prov. IV, Pars. II.—(72) I Cor. XI, 28.—(73) Luc. XII, 31; - Matth. VI, 33.—(74) Ioan. X, 11.—(75) Conc. Prov. V, Pars. II.—(76) Matth. XXV, 34 sq.—(77) II Tim. II, 3.—(78) Hebr. XII, 1, 2.—(79) II Tim. III, 12.—(80) Matth. XXII, 21.—(81) Act. V, 29.—(82) Conc. Prov. V, Pars. I.—(83) Bulla "Unigenitus."

(Translation from Rome.)



The Pastor and Education*

We have just listened to the words of approval and encouragement which the Holy Father has deigned to speak to our Association; and our first duty is one of gratitude to him for having opened this meeting with his gracious utterance. The blessing which he bestows upon our efforts comes from a heart to which the cause of Christian education is especially dear, and we may therefore rejoice in the prospect of a gathering which, inaugurated as it is by Apostolic Benediction, cannot fail to be productive of good.

The Holy Father has called our attention to some very important aspects of educational work, the efficacy of example as an essential duty of the teacher and the power that is wielded by the press in instructing the people at large. On the one as on the other there lies a serious obligation of making such use of their respective positions, that the ends for which Christian education strives may not be defeated, but may rather be furthered and more thoroughly realized. The Catholic journalist has splendid opportunities to present our schools in the proper light, to defend the principles which they embody, and to encourage our people in supporting school and college and university as necessary parts of a consolidated system. That our Catholic press has profited by this

*Address of the Right Rev. Mgr. Thomas J. Shahan, DD., Rector of the Catholic University of America, at the Seventh Annual Convention of the Catholic Educational Association, held at Detroit, Mich., July 5, 6, 7, 8, 1910.

opportunity and that its influence has been exerted in behalf of the aims which this Association is striving for, must be a source of gratification to the Sovereign Pontiff and an assurance to us that we have in the press a powerful ally whose good offices are helpful to teacher and pastor and people.

Among the objects set forth in the Constitution of this Association is that of encouraging the spirit of co-operation and mutual helpfulness among Catholic educators. This, indeed, may well be regarded as the essential aim which gives direction and energy to all our efforts. So far as this is secured, we may count our endeavors successful; and so far as any element is still lacking which thorough co-operation demands, there lies before us a task to be completed, a source of strength to be supplied, a new bond of union to be drawn more closely, more effectually.

The process of unifying our educational forces has been carried on in large measure by the same instinctive impulse which initiated the movement—I mean, the desire of furthering the interests of religion by making the work of our schools as perfect as possible. This desire, spontaneous in the heart of the Catholic teacher, has naturally led to an inquiry, more or less explicitly formulated, as to the various factors that enter into our educational system. To determine precisely the value of each factor and its relations to the work as a whole, to adjust these relations in view of our common purpose, and through this adjustment to effect the needed solidarity—these have been the most serious undertakings proposed to our Association.

Quite naturally, also, our attention has largely been given to the institutions that educate—the Seminary, the

College, the parochial school—to their curricula and methods, to the teaching of special subjects, to the instruction of particular classes of pupils. The discussion of these various topics has been fruitful in suggestion and has led us more than once from obvious facts to their causes, from immediate problems and their present solution to those that are more fundamental and therefore of greater importance. Doubtless, too, our thinking has ended in convictions as manifold and varied as the questions to which our attention has been drawn. But if there is any one conclusion in which all our particular findings can be merged and to which we can all readily give our assent, I venture to say it is this: the eventual success of our institutions, our methods, our entire organization, depends upon the earliest training that the child receives. The university must reckon with the college and both must reckon with the elementary school. So long as education is left to unconnected agencies, each doing its best, or—its worst, it matters little how it starts; indeed, it would be impossible for the elementary school to shape its work beyond its own limits in any systematic fashion where no system exists. But the moment co-ordination is effected or even contemplated, the significance of the elementary school becomes evident—not merely for psychological reasons, however weighty these may be, and not simply for the advantage of the individual pupil which must certainly be kept in view; but above all for the purposes of organization. As the science of bodily life has gone back from the study of large conspicuous organs to that of the various tissues, and from these again to the investigation of cellular units, so the science of education and its practice as well have come to recognize in the school the vital element out of which

all the rest is built up with the strength or the weakness which that element possesses.

Here again, needless to say, a considerable share of attention has been devoted by the Association to the parochial school and its problems; and it is an encouraging sign for the progress of our work that the handling of these problems has attracted in each of our meetings so lively an interest. But for this very reason it seems to me important that we should come to a closer acquaintance with the prime mover in the parochial school, and realize more fully to what extent his work affects the whole course of Catholic education. In the language of the philosophers, we are familiar with the formal and material causes of the school; its cause or purpose is distinctly before us; what calls for present consideration is the efficient cause and the influence which that cause inevitably exerts.

"The Pastor and Education" is not, assuredly, a startling title, nor is the relation which it expresses an artificial one devised for the sake of academic disputation. We are not called on here to bring the pastor from afar into contact with educational work, and much less demonstrate any thesis concerning the parochial school in the work of religion. Our purpose is rather to bring home to our minds the bearing of the pastor's activity upon the whole system of Catholic education. Knowing by personal experience in our own school days somewhat of the pastor's position in this respect, and having learned, by later observation, something more of his influence, we now seek to understand, from our actual point of view as teachers, the nature and extent of that influence and of that position.

Both, in a way, are unique. While the college pro-

fessor, as such, is mainly concerned with the imparting of secular knowledge, and while the elementary teacher, as such, has simply to deal with the immature pupil, the pastor, by reason of his office, is the exponent of the highest religious truths and is charged with the practical application of those truths in the lives of his people, whether child or adult, learned or unlearned, carefully sheltered from the world or exposed to its manifold dangers. If other teachers defend the faith, he must see that the faith is preserved; and if others expound the law, he must make sure that the law is obeyed.

What meaning, then, can a system of education, in the modern sense of the term, have for one who holds such an office and bears the responsibilities? For answer, we have only to follow in outline the ordinary career of the boy or girl who passes from the parochial school to pursue higher courses in college or university. The college may be Catholic or non-Catholic; its teaching may include religion or exclude it; its moral atmosphere may be wholesome or injurious; and the student may win honors or barely fulfil a minimum requirement. In any case, the important point for the pastor is this: what will be the attitude towards religion of the young man and young woman who return from college to reside, perhaps to practise a profession, within the limits, it may be, of the parish in which they grew up? Passing over the obvious reply to this question, let me point out at once the significant phase of the pastor's situation. Whatever has been expended on the pupil in the parochial school—time, money and teacher's work—all this mental and moral capital accumulated through years of labor and care, is turned over for further development to college or university, to an institution geographically remote from the

pastor, or at any rate beyond his personal control. On the other hand, the final result of this investment—the faith and moral character of the college graduate—is of vital concern to the pastor and his work. Of necessity, therefore, his interest must extend to the secondary and the higher education. Both to preserve the fruit of his labors in the parochial school and to safeguard the growth of religion among his people, he has a right to demand that the proper sort of education shall be given in the college. The very fact that he begins the process of education and has to deal with its ultimate results, implies that he is concerned, and deeply concerned, with its intermediate stages. And this concern becomes graver in proportion as the co-ordination of our schools becomes more perfect. In a word, the upbuilding of our educational system, while it compels university and college to take the elementary school into serious account, also urges upon the pastor a careful consideration of that system as a whole and in its several parts. Or again, the situation amounts to this: the schools from the lowest to the highest are so articulated that they provide an unbroken intellectual development, and thereby determine, on the intellectual side, the entire career of the student. The pastor is even more solicitous that, on the moral and religious side, childhood, youth and maturity should form an harmonious whole moving steadily on to the attainment of our highest destiny. Continuity is indispensable for the educational result; and a breach of continuity would be fatal where the welfare of souls is at stake.

From this general survey of the situation, we may now pass on to a closer inspection of its salient features, in order to appreciate the pastor's influence, and at the same time to realize the value of his service in the cause of

education. Happily, the facts that we have to consider are known to us all; they simply need to be restated with reference to our present inquiry.

By virtue of his office, the pastor is the immediate representative of ecclesiastical authority for the faithful. From him they learn whatever may be enacted in regard to education by those who are placed in higher position as rulers of the Church of God. Their thought about things that pertain to education, its necessity and advantages, its meaning for religion, character and life, is normally shaped by him. To him also they look for counsel in forming their plans for the subsequent training of their children in academy or college or professional school. In a word, it lies chiefly with the pastor to determine the attitude of our Catholic people towards the education, and more particularly towards the whole system which this Association represents. Add to this, a consideration of practical import—the fact that our institutions are in the main dependent upon the people for their support; it at once becomes evident that the prosperity and even the existence of our educational system is, to a large extent, conditioned by the interest and sympathy it wins from the pastor.

What I have in mind is not alone the financial support, though that, as we know, is essential. I refer rather to the support of loyalty and co-operation which we continually need for maintaining an unequal struggle for existence. What this competition means for the elementary school, no one knows as well as the pastor. And for this very reason he is fully qualified to appreciate the efforts which the Catholic college is obliged to make in order to keep front with its numerous and powerful rivals. It is this phase of the situation more, perhaps,

than any other, that necessitates joint action all along the line. But if such action is to be effective, our people must be brought to see, that the college is no less essential than the parish school, and that loyalty to the one means loyalty to the other. I am convinced that no truer lesson can be given to the faithful from the pulpit than that the college exists for their sake, that the seminary is working in their behalf, and that the university is striving to protect and advance their most sacred interests. Let this consciousness of the solidarity of our work be aroused in the Catholic mind, and the future of our institutions is secure.

The same lesson can be taught within narrower limits, but to an audience that will take it directly to heart. Every teacher, no matter how zealous or conscientious, has need of stimulation, of encouragement, of thoughts and feelings that lead away from routine and compensate for many difficulties of daily experience. Now these various drawbacks are all the more serious when they are accompanied by a sense of isolation, when the teacher has to plod along from task to task with a vague benumbing conviction that no one else is concerned as to how the work is done or what its final outcome may be. And the critical point is certainly reached when the teacher is content to say: I will do my best within these appointed limits, and take no thought of what lies beyond.

As a matter of fact, things do not always come to this pass, and when they do, a reaction sets in. The teacher finds inspiration, or at any rate suggestion, from a variety of sources—from treatises on education, from changes in the policy and work of other schools, from text-books, and even, in some cases, from regulations drawn up by public authority with which the school is obliged to com-

ply. Isolation indeed is so abnormal that it inevitably brings about its own remedy; and the result is that every one of our schools, though not formally and officially, is none the less effectually brought under the influence of some organized system, is guided by its standards, conducted in accordance with its methods, and rated, in point of efficiency, on the basis of its requirements.

This affiliation in the spirit, if not in the letter, supplies just that broadening of interest and that feeling of solidarity which is a prime requisite for success in the teacher's work. It may also have other consequences affecting the inner life of the school. But taking it at its initial value, regarding it simply as a means of inspiration and encouragement, we may ask whether it is not important to secure such helps from Catholic sources. If our schools must be to all intents and purposes co-ordinated with some system, and if our teachers are to be quickened by influences that emanate from higher planes of educational activity, is it not desirable that this system should be our own and these influences thoroughly Catholic? There are, no doubt, many different ways in which the pastor, by explicit statement or gentle intimation can strengthen his teachers and kindle their enthusiasm; yet it seems to me that no word of his can be more helpful than that which keeps steadily before their minds the fact that their work is an integral, an essential part of Catholic education as a whole, that each effort they make affects, in one way or another, the teaching in college and university, and that consequently their success is what we all desire because it is indispensable to the success of our common undertaking.

Such appeals to the people and teachers in behalf of our Catholic system are not, after all, so remote from the

pastor's immediate and ordinary action. He understands, if any one does, the value and the necessity for organization both for carrying on the work of religion and, more in particular, for securing efficiency in the school. He has no need of being told what it costs to build and equip a school, to provide teachers of the right sort, to arrange curricula and grades and classes, to maintain standards, enforce discipline, do justice to the pupil and avoid injustice to the parent. In a word, within the compass of the parish and in proportion to the range of the school, he encounters all the problems which Catholic education has to deal with on a larger scale. The fact that he has handled them so well, meeting difficulties of all sorts bravely and patiently, must go on record as the greatest achievement of Catholic educational endeavor in this country. He has amply deserved the thanks not only of this Association, but of the Catholic Church at large. And if there be anyone to whom the words of commendation from the Holy Father may with special fitness apply, that one, in my estimation, is the pastor, as the head and director of the parochial school. But what he has accomplished in the way of organization is precisely what we are aiming at in establishing and consolidating our Catholic system. By force of circumstances, the component parts are spatially separate, and by traditional usage each performs its function in a somewhat autonomous fashion. These divisions, however, are not of the essence of education. Endowed as it is with various faculties, the mind is nevertheless a unitary being and there should be no break in its development. This, it may be, accounts for the attempts which have been made from time to time, and even within the modern period, to establish an institution that should com-

prise all grades of instruction and lead the pupil from the rudiments to the highest academic degrees. That these utopian schemes did not succeed was due to causes with which the history of education has made us familiar. Without pausing to enumerate these, let me again remind you that the main endeavor of modern education is to neutralize, as far as possible, the effects of this institutional division. It is true, we have not as yet any one institution that pretends to do the whole work; but we do find the practical equivalent in those arrangements which co-ordinate the work of various institutions, and which are becoming so perfect that the pupil passes on from the lower to the higher by almost imperceptible changes.

What has made this adjustment advisable or necessary? Undoubtedly, it is the conviction—identical with what the pastor has gained by experience—that each phase in the educational process must occur just at the right time and must be related in this particular way to all the other phases. Whoever has organized an elementary school is fully aware that one grade must be nicely adjusted to another, and that each teacher must take into consideration what the others are doing. You cannot afford to apply one set of principles in the first grade, another in the fourth and another in the seventh. For teaching the different subjects, special methods are required according to the nature of each subject; but the fundamentals of method must be the same all the way through if we are to avoid confusion and useless repetition.

All this is so clear to the pastor that the statement of it need only hint at what he would probably describe in greater detail and with the emphasis that comes of ex-

perience. My purpose, for the time being, is to have the pastor look over the whole range of Catholic education and realize that order, adjustment and co-operation are just as necessary in the entire system as they are in his parochial school: as necessary, but much more difficult to secure. And one source of the difficulty lies, I believe, in the fact that hitherto we have tried to make each group of institutions as efficient as possible in itself—on the mistaken idea that there can be any real efficiency where no care is taken to secure co-ordinate action. The pastor, as an organizer, has interests in common with all other Catholic educations; and a moment's reflection will show him how those interests can best be furthered.

Let this, moreover, be noted: Whether the pastor is willing or not to take this larger view and to co-operate as the needs of the system require, he is by the organization and management of his school, affecting inevitably all the rest of our educational work. He could not, even if he were so minded, put himself beyond the pale of relationship, nor completely waive responsibility in the matter of our success or failure. Not only is the parochial school by its organization representative of the system at large; it is, moreover, the earliest organization in the educative process. It controls the child at the very period when the mind is plastic—open to all the influences which the school exerts through order, correlation of subjects, selection of methods, example of teachers, skill and psychological wisdom in adapting each stage of the process to the needs of growing intelligence. This is an immense advantage—this opportunity of dealing with the faculties, the inborn abilities and tendencies of the individual soul before it has been warped by the wrong

sort of experience or imprudent training. But it is also a grave responsibility; first, because the child himself is not free or even able, as is the maturer student, to realize his own mental needs, or to choose for himself what and how he shall study. In fact, whether he is ever to attain such an ability of electing his courses wisely, must depend in no small measure on the way he is trained from the start—on the development of his intellectual power to judge, and even more, perhaps, on the development of his character to a point where he will be guided by worthy motives and directed by the advice of his elders, and yet show, in the strength of his will, both personal initiative and tenacity of purpose. Sooner or later, he must decide on his life-course; and the elements of that decision, or at any rate the ability to reach it, are developed during his years in the school. It is true, we have not at our disposal any infallible means of discerning the native bent or special capacities of the mind in earliest childhood. With all the advances of psychology, we are still obliged to content ourselves with what is at best a probability as to the child's vocation. But if an unfailing test is ever devised, there can be no question as to when and by whom it should be applied.

On the other hand—and here the responsibility becomes yet more serious—it is practically impossible at any later period to undo what the elementary school has done. The college, as a rule, provides in its entrance requirements for conditioning applicants who are not fully prepared; but this is no advantage either to the college or to the candidate for admission. Various devices are also employed to supply the deficiencies revealed at the entrance examination; but no college professor takes any delight in such supplemental remedial teaching. And

in any case, it necessarily involves an outlay of time and effort which, normally, should be otherwise expended. This is not to say that the college itself has reached the stage of perfection, or that it can hold the school alone responsible for the shortcomings of its graduates. But it is certain that the problem of raising and maintaining the level of collegiate work is more readily solved when the preparatory training is up to the standard; and it is equally certain that the college cannot undertake to break the mould in which the student's mind is cast, and shape it anew conformably to the requirements of collegiate study. In a word, education is a forward-moving process; it may be quickened or retarded, set going in the right direction or in the wrong; but it cannot be reversed.

What has been said of the work of preparation refers primarily to the training of the intelligence. It is needful to add that it applies with still greater force to moral education. The essential reason, first and last, for which our schools exist is to inculcate the knowledge of what is right, and, more important still, to cultivate the habit of doing what is right. We insist that intelligence and will shall be jointly developed, and we cannot admit the claim, made now as it was made in pagan antiquity, that knowledge and virtue are one. But we have further to insist that moral training is an indispensable requisite for securing all that we desire on the intellectual side. The ability to work is one thing, the will to work quite another. Neither wise arrangement of curricula, nor excellence of method, nor skill on the part of teachers will avail much with a pupil who has not been duly exercised in what may be called the school virtues—in punctuality, docility and industry—to say

nothing of the specifically Christian qualities of mind and heart which our schools endeavor to inculcate. A mere allusion to this phase of the subject must suffice, since our present purpose is not to dwell upon the need of moral education or discuss the manner in which it should be conducted, but rather to emphasize from this particular view-point one of the vital relationships in which the parochial school stands toward all later education and the work of more advanced institutions. It suffices, I mean, to point out that the pastor, in forming the character of the pupils in his school according to the principles and rules of morality, not only lays the foundation for right conduct, but also in a very essential degree imbues the will with those qualities which are indispensable for the cultivation of intellectual powers.

It would not, however, be dealing fairly with this subject if, after showing the interdependence of college and school, we should add no word as to the mode of adjusting their relations. If a manifold responsibility rests on the parochial school as a preparation for the college, it is obvious to ask how this responsibility can be met, or how the school can best enter into co-operation with the other factors in our system. Here of course one naturally thinks of the framework—of the course of studies, the number of grades, the hours for each subject—and all this is doubtlessly important. Or again, one has in mind the qualifications of the teacher and the distribution of work in special departments—questions assuredly that cannot be too thoroughly considered. But back of all these, though certainly dependent on them in many respects, lies the question as to how the teaching shall be carried on. While a due succession and continuity of subjects is required, and while a mutual understanding

as to their respective limits is necessary, it is even more necessary that college and school should reach an agreement regarding the methods by which education as a whole and the teaching of the several subjects can be most effectually conducted. Now these methods, so far as they are sound, are simply the application of certain underlying principles drawn from the sciences of life and mind. Once we have learned how life, organic and mental develops, we are in a position to understand on what basis educational methods are to be harmonized. We know that in the living germ the several organs are potentially present, and that they are developed by a proportionate growth. We find, not that brain or heart or eye advances alone to its final form and awaits the tardier growth of other parts, but rather that by an evenly progressing differentiation, the several structures appear and take on their appropriate functions. In proportion, moreover, to the development of structure and activity, new relations with the environment are formed, new materials are assimilated, new modes of reaction are manifested; but throughout, the same law of adaptation to actual and growing needs is observed, and whenever the law is interfered with, arrest of development inevitably results.

Analagous to this process is the work of education. Our aim is not merely to see that just so many subjects of study are offered the child, nor that, having completed the one he shall now enter upon the next. Our criterion is not the logical sequence which appeals to the mind at maturity, but rather the psychological relation determined by the nature of the mind itself. Succession there must be—not, however, of a mechanical sort, but of the sort that supplies precisely what is needed

in quality and quantity at each stage of the development and enables the mind to pass on through its own activity to the next higher stage.

On this basis, the ideal relation between school and college would imply that from the very beginning of his school-life, the child shall be trained by methods which, on a scale proportioned to his needs, are in principle identical with those which later on the college will apply. The school is not called on to anticipate the work of the college any more than the college work is expected to take up what the university does. The essential thing is that each lesson in the school be given in such a way as to provide those structural and functional elements which, with proper treatment in subsequent periods, will attain their full development in variety and power.

Evidently, then, the most arduous task in all education, is that which falls to the lot of the elementary school. For its accomplishment a deep insight into the laws of mental life is the first requisite; but there is also needed, to accomplish it well, a clear conception of the methods adopted and pursued in collegiate training. These again, unquestionably, are susceptible of improvement, and we may be sure that the colleges themselves are eager for the better things. But any modification that is to be useful, and particularly any change that is far-reaching in its effects, should be the outcome of mutual understanding, of joint deliberation and action, on the part of school and college together. As I now see the situation, I am persuaded that no measure would advance our common interests more efficaciously than a careful study and a prudent adjustment of the methods that are followed from the lowest of our schools to the highest.

But of methods and method making there is no end—just as there is no end of reforms and tendencies and movements. Clearly, we must make a choice, and for the choosing we need a standard. Have we, then, within our reach, in others words, within the range of Christian education, in its source, its history or its present agencies any guidance or irreproachable example? Is there any record of a teaching by methods that are absolutely secure in their principle and that have been adequately tested in their application?

The reply, I am sure, takes definite shape in each of your minds. We have come to realize that in the teaching which the Gospel presents us there is not only sublimity of truth and morality without equal, but also a perfection of method which no merely human wisdom can ever attain. And when we speak of Jesus Christ as the greatest of all teachers, we imply with all reverence that He is the supreme exemplar on which our work, according to our capacity, should be modelled. Furthermore, it is plain that the Church, in imparting to mankind the truths of salvation, employs those methods which are most thoroughly in accord with the nature and the needs of the human mind. In the sacramental system, the liturgy, each detail of the ritual, each item of adornment added to the material edifice where we worship, the Church observes, and for centuries has observed, the great laws which psychology is just trying to formulate—the appeal to sense, the use of symbols, imitation, expression and the principle of learning by doing—all are her ordinary methods.

These things we know and appreciate; but note the consequence for the subject we have in hand. The pastor is the regularly appointed agency by which the Church

carries on her teaching; the sanctuary is her school; and every liturgical act which he performs in accordance with the spirit and prescription of the Church is a lesson imparted by the most effective of methods. He has only to analyze his own action and bring into clear consciousness the principles it involves in order to see that he must pay attention to psychological method, because, as a priest, he is continually putting it into practice. And he has but to convince himself that the same methods hold good for the entire work of education in order to secure the standard that is needed.

From this point of view we might well be justified in revising the title of this paper; we might quite properly speak of "the pastor as educator." For such in truth he is. He is not merely connected with, or interested in, education; his daily and hourly ministrations make him, in a very literal sense, a teacher with the most vital knowledge to impart and the most perfect methods of imparting it. So far now as we may be able to extend these methods to other subjects, and thereby secure unity in our teaching, we must count upon the experience and the earnest co-operation of the pastor to make our endeavors successful. We now recognize the necessity of making religion the center of all education, of employing the same principles and methods in intellectual, moral and religious training. What could be more natural than to enlist and put to the best advantage the co-operation of that teacher who, more than anyone else, is the authorized exponent of the methods which the Church herself employs?

Our appeal to the pastor, therefore, is not any request that he shall go aside from his official position and its duties to seek out new policies or to inform his work

with a new spirit. He can be more helpful to us, if in the use of his authority as head of the parochial school, he will keep before his own mind and before the mind of those who labor with him in teaching, the central purpose for which this Association exists, and if he will extend to the whole Catholic system the care which he directly feels for the organization of his school, and his solicitude for those salutary methods which he is constantly applying in the name of the Church and of Christ. With such a spirit on his part, there will not only be co-operation, but there will also result a system of Christian education in the true sense of the word; for it will be, like the Church herself, a system animated by the Spirit of Christ, fashioned upon His teaching, and carrying over from the school to college, university and social life, in unbroken sequence, the lessons which the Master taught.

Holy Communion for Children



Holy Communion for Children

DECREE OF THE SACRED CONGREGATION OF SACRAMENTAL
DISCIPLINE ON THE AGE OF THOSE TO BE AD-
MITTED TO RECEIVE FIRST HOLY
COMMUNION.

The pages of the Gospels plainly testify to the special love which Christ showed whilst on earth to the little ones. It was His delight to be in their midst, He laid His hands upon them, He embraced and blessed them, He was indignant when they were repulsed by His disciples and reprimanded the latter in the following words:

“Suffer the little children to come unto Me and forbid them not; for of such is the kingdom of God.”

How highly He prized their innocence and simplicity of soul He shows when calling a little one He said to His disciples:

“Amen I say to you, unless you, be converted, and become as little children, you shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven. Whosoever therefore shall humble himself as this little child, he is the greater in the kingdom of heaven. And he that shall receive one such little child in my name, receiveth me.”

Bearing this in mind the Catholic Church from the beginning took care to bring Christ to the little ones through Eucharistic Communion, which was given to the sucklings.

This, as was prescribed in almost all the ancient rituals till the thirteenth century was done at baptism, and the

same custom prevailed for a long time in some places; it is still in vogue with the Greeks and Orientals. But to avoid all danger, lest the children should spit out the consecrated host, the custom obtained from the beginning of giving the Holy Eucharist under the species of wine alone.

The infants did not, however, receive Holy Communion only at Baptism, but they frequently afterwards partook of the divine repast. For it was the custom in many churches to give Communion to the children immediately after the clergy, in others to dispense to them the small fragments left over after the Communion of the adults.

Later on this custom became obsolete in the Latin Church, neither were children permitted to approach the holy table before the dawn of the use of reason and before having some knowledge of the August Sacrament.

This new discipline, already accepted by several particular Councils, was solemnly confirmed in the Fourth Lateran Oecumenical Council by promulgating the celebrated Twenty-first Canon, in which the reception of the Sacraments of Penance and Holy Communion is prescribed to all the faithful having arrived at the use of reason in the following words:

“All the faithful of both sexes, after coming to the use of reason, shall confess all their sins alone to their proper priest at least once a year, strive to fulfil the enjoined penance as far as possible, devoutly receiving Holy Communion at least at Easter time, unless by the advice of the priest and for some reasonable cause he should deem it well to abstain for a while.”

The Council of Trent in no way disapproving of the ancient discipline of giving Holy Communion to children

before they have attained the use of reason, confirmed the decree of the Lateran Council and pronounced anathema on those who hold a contrary opinion.

“If any one shall deny that all the faithful of both sexes, who have attained the use of reason are obliged to receive Communion every year, at least at Easter time, according to the precepts of Holy Mother Church, let him be anathema.”

Therefore in virtue of the aforesaid decree of the Lateran Council still in force, the faithful as soon as they arrive at the years of discretion are obliged to receive the Sacraments of Penance and Holy Communion at least once a year.

But in establishing the year when children come to the use of reason many errors and deplorable abuses have crept in in the course of time.

There are those who considered one age necessary for the Sacrament of Penance, another for Holy Eucharist. For the Sacrament of Penance they judged that age necessary in which one can distinguish right from wrong, hence can commit sin; for Holy Eucharist, however, they required a greater age in which a deeper knowledge of matters of faith and a better preparation of the soul can be had.

And thus, according to the various customs of places and opinions of men, the age of ten years was fixed for receiving First Holy Communion in some places, in others fourteen years and even more were required, in the meanwhile forbidding all those children under the required age from receiving Holy Communion.

This custom by which, under the plea of safeguarding the August Sacrament, the faithful were kept away from the same, was the cause of many evils.

It happened that the innocence of childhood torn away from the embraces of Christ, was deprived of the sap of interior life; from which it also followed that youth destitute of this strong help, surrounded by so many snares, having lost its candor, fell into vice before ever tasting of the sacred mysteries.

Even though a more thorough preparation and an accurate sacramental confession should precede First Holy Communion, which does not happen everywhere, yet the loss of first innocence is always to be deplored and might have been avoided by receiving the Holy Eucharist in more tender years.

Not less is the custom, which exists in many places, to be condemned, according to which children are not allowed to receive the Sacrament of Penance before they are admitted to Communion, or else absolution is not given to them; thus it happens that burdened perhaps with mortal sins they remain a long time in great danger.

But the worst of all is that, in some places children not yet admitted to First Holy Communion, are not permitted to receive the Sacred Viaticum, even when in danger of death, and thus, dying and being buried as infants, they are not helped by the prayers of the Church.

Such injury is caused by those who insist on extraordinary preparation for First Holy Communion, more than is reasonable, not realizing that this kind of precaution proceeds from the errors of the Jansenists, who maintain that Holy Eucharist is a reward not a remedy for human frailty.

The Council of Trent holds a different opinion when it teaches that it is "an antidote by which we are freed from daily faults and preserved from mortal sins," which doctrine has lately been inculcated by a decree given on

the 26th day of December, 1905, in which daily approach to Communion is opened to all both old and young, two conditions only being required, the state of grace and a right intention.

Neither does it appear reasonable that whilst formerly even sucklings received the remnant of the sacred particles, at present an extraordinary preparation should be required from the children, who are in the happy state of innocence and candor, and greatly need this heavenly food on account of the many temptations and dangers of our times.

The abuses which we condemn may be traced to the fact that those who demand a certain age for Penance and another for Holy Eucharist have neither wisely nor rightly defined the required age.

The Lateran Council requires one and the same age for both Sacraments, since it imposes a joint obligation of Penance and Communion.

Therefore, since the age of discretion required for Penance is that, at which right can be distinguished from wrong, namely, when one comes to the use of reason; so also for Communion that age is required, which can distinguish the Eucharistic bread from the common, which in turn is the age at which a child attains the use of reason.

Nor did the principal interpreters of the Lateran Council and those who lived at that time think differently.

From the history of the Church it is evident that many synods and episcopal decrees, beginning with the twelfth century, shortly after the Lateran Council, admitted children of seven years of age to Holy Communion.

There is, moreover, a testimony of the greatest authority, St. Thomas Aquinas, which reads:

"When children begin to have some use of reason so that they can conceive some devotion towards the Sacrament [Eucharist], then this Sacrament can be given to them."

The same is explained by Ledesma as follows:

"I say with the consent of all, that Holy Eucharist should be given to all having the use of reason, no matter how soon they may acquire the same; even though the child should have but a confused idea of what it is doing."

Vasquez explains the same passage in the following words:

"As soon as a child attains the use of reason, it is obliged by divine law so that not even the Church can dispense it from the same."

The same is taught by St. Antoninus, writing:

"But when a child is capable of wrongdoing, that is, of committing mortal sin, then he is subject to the precept of Confession and consequently Communion."

The Council of Trent also forces us to the same conclusion. For whilst it declares that "infants, lacking the use of reason are not obliged to receive Holy Communion" it assigns as the only reason, because they cannot commit sin:

"Since, at that age they cannot lose the acquired grace of the children of God."

From which it is evident that the Council believed the children obliged to receive Communion as soon as they could lose grace by sin.

The words of the Roman Council, held under Benedict XIII, agree with this, teaching that the obligation of receiving Holy Eucharist begins "after the boys and girls have come to the use of reason, to that age, namely, in

which they are capable of distinguishing this sacramental food, which is no other than the true Body of Jesus Christ, from the common and profane bread, and know how to approach the same with the proper devotion and religion."

The Roman Catechism, however, says:

"At what age Holy Communion should be given to children, no one can judge better than the father or the priest to whom they confess their sins. For theirs is the duty to find out and to enquire of the children if they have acquired some knowledge of this admirable Sacrament and a taste for the same."

From all this it follows that the age of discretion required for Holy Communion is that at which the child can distinguish the Eucharistic from common and material bread and knows how to approach the altar with proper devotion.

A perfect knowledge of the articles of faith is, therefore, not necessary, as a few elements alone are sufficient; nor is the full use of reason required since the beginning of the use of reason that is some kind of use of reason suffices. Wherefore to put off Communion any longer or to exact a riper age for the reception of the same is to be rejected absolutely, and the same has been repeatedly condemned by the Holy See.

Thus Pius IX, of happy memory, in the letters of Cardinal Antonelli to the Bishops of France, given on the 12th day of March, 1866, severely condemned the growing custom existing in some dioceses of putting off Holy Communion to a maturer age and rejected the number of years as fixed by them.

The Sacred Congregation of the Council on the 15th of March, 1851, corrected a chapter of the Provincial

Council of Rouen, in which children under twelve years of age were forbidden to receive Holy Communion.

This same Congregation of Sacramental Discipline, acting in a similar manner in a case proposed to it from Strasburg on March 25, 1910, in which it being asked whether children of twelve or fourteen years could be admitted to Holy Communion, answered:

"Boys and girls are to be admitted to Holy Communion when they arrive at the age of discretion or attain the use of reason."

Having seriously considered all these things the Sacred Congregation of Sacramental Discipline, at a general meeting, held on the 15th of July, 1910, in order that the above-mentioned abuses might be removed and the children of tender years become attached to Jesus, live His life, and obtain assistance against the dangers of corruption, has judged it opportune to lay down the following form for admitting children to First Holy Communion to be observed everywhere:

I. The age of discretion required both for Confession and Communion is the time when the child begins to reason, that is about the seventh year, more or less. From this time on the obligation of satisfying the precept of both Confession and Communion begins.

II. Both for First Confession and Communion a complete and perfect knowledge of Christian Doctrine is not necessary. The child will, however, be obliged to gradually learn the whole catechism according to its ability.

III. The knowledge of Christian Doctrine required in children in order to be properly prepared for First Holy Communion is that they understand according to their capacity those mysteries of Faith which are necessary as a means of salvation, that they be able to distinguish the

Eucharist from common and material bread, and also approach the sacred table with the devotion becoming their age.

IV. The obligation of the precept of Confession and Communion which rests upon the child, falls back principally upon those in whose care they are, that is, parents, confessors, teachers and their pastors. It belongs to the father, however, or to the person taking his place, as also to the confessor, according to the Roman Catechism, to admit the child to First Holy Communion.

V. The pastors shall take care to announce and distribute General Communion once or several times a year to the children, and on these occasions they shall admit not only First communicants, but also others, who with the consent of their parents or of the confessor, as has been said above, have already been admitted to the sacred table before. For both classes several days of instruction and preparation shall precede.

VI. Those who have the care of children should use all diligence, so that after First Communion the children shall often approach the holy table, even daily, if possible, as Jesus Christ and Mother Church desire, and that they do it with a devotion becoming their age. They should bear in mind their most important duty, by which they are obliged to have the children present at the public instructions in catechism, otherwise they must apply this religious instruction in some other way.

VII. The custom of not admitting children to confession, or of not absolving them, is absolutely condemned. Wherefore the Ordinaries of places, using those means which the law gives them, shall see that it is done away with.

VIII. It is an utterly detestable abuse not to administer

Viaticum and Extreme Unction to children having attained the use of reason and to bury them according to the manner of infants. The Ordinaries of places shall proceed severely against those who do not abandon this custom.

These resolutions of the Eminent Fathers, the Cardinal of this Sacred Congregation, have been approved by Our Most Holy Lord Pope Pius X, in an audience given on the seventh day of the current month, and he has commanded the present decree to be edited and promulgated. He has commanded all the Ordinaries that the present decree should be made known not only to the pastors and the clergy, but also to the people, to whom it shall be read yearly, at Easter time, in the vernacular language.

The Ordinaries themselves will be obliged at the end of every five years (together with the other affairs of their diocese) to give an account of the observance of this decree to the Holy See.

Everything else to the contrary notwithstanding.

Given in Rome at the residence of the same Sacred Congregation on the eighth day of August, 1910.

D. CARD. FERRATA, *Prefect.*

PH. GIUSTINI, *Secretary.*

—Translation from *Rome*, with corrections of sections IV and V, page 9.—The America Press, New York.

The XXI Eucharistic Congress

CORRESPONDENCE FROM CANADA.

[These letters are republished from AMERICA. They give a vivid description of the reception of the Cardinal Legate at Quebec, the solemn pontifical Mass on Mount Royal and the closing Procession of the Most Blessed Sacrament, and are printed in pamphlet form as a souvenir of the celebration.]

QUEBEC'S RECEPTION TO THE CARDINAL LEGATE.

QUEBEC, SEPTEMBER 2, 1910.

While the sister city of Montreal is feverishly preparing for the great Eucharistic Congress, busily erecting the colonnades and triumphal arches along the line of procession, and wondering how provision is to be made for the tens of thousands of expected visitors, Quebec, of the towering citadel, has been having a celebration of her own. Montreal, with her population of half a million, the vast majority of whom are ardent Catholics, was indeed fittingly chosen for the great International Congress of the Holy Eucharist. Her claims to this honor none will dispute. Quebec, however, regrets that the honor has not been hers. The city that is hallowed with the sacred memories that cling to the names of Cartier, Champlain and Laval, her political and religious history being typified by her physical pre-eminence over the surrounding country, may easily be pardoned for qualms of regret over the distinction which has fallen to the city of Maisonneuve. But Quebec has not been

entirely unhonored during these days. A great Temperance Congress is holding its sessions here and the official representative of the Holy Father at the Eucharistic Congress, Cardinal Vannutelli, has received from her his first greetings on American soil.

The Temperance Congress now in session is due to the initiative of the permanent central committee of L'Action Sociale Catholique. This committee in December last agreed unanimously that there could be no better means of promoting temperance than to bring together to its discussion every force and organization engaged in the work. Wherefore a general muster in the archiepiscopal city of all diocesan societies was arranged. The exact date of the meeting coinciding with the arrival of Cardinal Vannutelli and his suite to attend the Eucharistic Congress was determined later. The Temperance Congress was formally opened on Wednesday, August 31, with a solemn High Mass in the Basilica, at which His Grace the Archbishop of Quebec officiated. The highest officials of Church and State were present during the services. There were Right Reverend Bishops and Monsignori and a large and representative body of the clergy from all parts of the Province. Sir Alphonse P. Pelletier, Lieutenant Governor of Quebec, being ill, was represented by Sir Louis Jetté, the Chief Justice of the Court of Appeals and former Governor of the Province, and with his Excellency was Sir Lomer Gouin, the Prime Minister and His Worship Mayor Drouin. A special musical service was rendered by the choir of St. Sauveur, and an eloquent sermon on the evils of intemperance was delivered by M. l'abbé Joseph Hallé, of Levis College. Another notable gathering assembled in Convention Hall of Laval University in the evening, when addresses were made by

Archbishop Begin, Mgr. Roy, President of the Congress, Judge Lemieux, the Hon. Mr. Chapais and the distinguished Dominican preacher Père Hage.

On Thursday, however, the city was en fête for the coming of Cardinal Vannutelli. The Temperance Congress became only an incident in the magnificent welcome extended to the representative of the Holy See. The principal streets of the city through which the Delegate was to pass were decorated with a profusion of flags and bunting, the papal colors blending with those of the Dominion, while the Stars and Stripes with the Tricolor and the Fleur-de-lys floated in the breeze with the Red, White and Green of Italy and the golden Harp of the Emerald Isle.

It would be difficult to imagine a more spectacular welcome than that given to the distinguished ecclesiastic. Long before the hour announced by wireless for his arrival the roofs of the houses of the lower city, Dufferin terrace and the sloping heights of the escarpments of the citadel were alive with the multitudes who scanned eagerly the broad St. Lawrence for the first glimpse of the Empress of Ireland, which conveyed the papal visitor and his suite. It was an impressive scene as the steamer hove in sight and approached the city. The steamer Lady Grey met the larger vessel at the dock and had the honor of conveying the party to the landing. The arrival was announced by the ringing of all the bells of the city, the booming of cannon and the hurrying of the crowds to positions along the line the procession was to take to the Dufferin terrace. Here a canopied throne was erected with places for Cardinal Vannutelli and his companion Cardinal Logue. The weather was ideal. A bright sun shone out after two days of

lowering clouds and chilly rain showers, and nature seemed to lend her best to the pageant prepared by the enthusiastic citizens. The landing, the procession through the streets to the upper town, the singing of the children at different points of the route, the addresses of welcome on behalf of clergy and laity, the church and the municipality, the fervid response of the Cardinal, all succeeded one another with marvelous beauty and precision. Then the procession was again taken up and the dignitaries, amid the acclamations and greetings of the multitudes, the songs of the children, the marching and countermarching of zouaves and military escorts, proceeded to the Cathedral where the Te Deum was sung and Benediction of the Most Blessed Sacrament given to all.

That evening another session of the Temperance Congress was held in Convention Hall and several prominent speakers discoursed on their appointed topics. The presence of the Cardinal, however, turned the gathering into another reception for His Eminence. To-day, Friday, Cardinal Vannutelli pays a visit to the Shrine of Ste. Anne de Beaupré, returning in the evening to Quebec and thence departing for Montreal where a reception awaits him on Saturday. No doubt the city chosen for the Eucharist Congress will give His Eminence a welcome worthy of the event and the dignity of the guest, but the splendor which the natural beauty of Quebec added to the reception on Thursday will be lacking.

THE EUCHARISTIC CONGRESS.

MONTREAL, SEPT. 10, 1910.

After a visit on Friday, September 2, to the celebrated shrine of St. Anne de Beaupré, the Papal Envoy, Cardinal Vincent Vannutelli, bade farewell to Quebec, which had

been the first place to welcome His Eminence on his arrival in Canada. In the evening he was received by the Minister of Marine, the Hon. L. P. Brodeur, on board the government steamer Lady Grey, which was to convey him to Montreal. His escort included the Archbishop of Montreal and other distinguished prelates. The following morning Mass was said at the Cathedral of Three Rivers, his Eminence officiating, assisted by Bishop Cloutier and other ecclesiastics. The departure from Three Rivers was made amid the acclamations of the jubilant people who shouted "Vive Pie X! Vive le légat papal! Vive Vannutelli! Vive Jeanne d'Arc! Vive Mgr. Touchet"! The latter, the Bishop of Orleans, was one of the party and everywhere received a welcome second only to that given the Pope's representative. The Cardinal smiled, saluting the crowds with outstretched hands, and then blessed them. On every street a triumphal arch had been raised; flags and draping fluttered in the breeze; cannon boomed. The parish societies, the league of the Sacred Heart and others were drawn up along the bank of the majestic St. Lawrence. As the Lady Grey moved away the banners waved from afar a farewell salute to His Eminence. It was a red letter day for Three Rivers as the previous ones had been for historic Quebec.

As the representative of His Holiness made his way up the river the church bells of all the country parishes along the St. Lawrence rang out their greeting, thus continuing the demonstration which had been given His Eminence from the time the Empress of Ireland a few days before had entered the waters of the St. Lawrence. His Eminence Cardinal Logue was not with the party at Three Rivers. He was already in Montreal, having taken another steamer from Quebec.

Shortly after midday an escort of some 150 yachts, motor boats and sea craft of all kinds with two large river steamers moved down the St. Lawrence to meet the Lady Grey. The entire flotilla was one mass of flags and draping while the maneuvers in connection with the meeting of the approaching steamer combined admirably precision of detail with broad spectacular effect. Visitors who had been present at other Eucharistic Congresses declared that they had never seen any demonstration more beautiful or more impressive in the capitals of Europe or in cities renowned for their traditions of the Catholic Faith.

A magnificent reception had been arranged for the landing in the afternoon at Montreal. The reception was held but the splendor was not there. Rain spoiled it all. All day the clouds had been lowering and the storm was at its worst when the Lady Grey reached the city. On the wharf a stage and a throne had been erected, draped with banners and flags of all nations, with wreaths and garlands of natural flowers which hung bedraggled in the driving rain. Still thousands braved the storm and in spite of the discomfort of the situation, joined in enthusiastic cheers for the Papal Legate. The formal public reception was transferred to the Municipal Council Hall, where his Worship the Mayor cordially welcomed the envoy of the Holy See. The Cardinal replied expressing his happiness over the enthusiastic reception accorded him as the representative of His Holiness, and hailed Montreal as the Rome of the New World in guarding the traditions of the Faith, preserving the fruits of the labors and sufferings of her founders and unfailing constancy in her devotion to the Holy Eucharist.

During the interval before the opening of the Congress

the people of Montreal had an opportunity to become acquainted with Father Vaughan, the English Jesuit, whose reputation as a pulpit orator is now world-wide. On Sunday evening, September 4, the distinguished speaker addressed a large audience at the Monument National. His auditors are now in a better position to understand the reports that for years have come over from London of the sensation made there by his sermons and lectures. His theme was "Character," which he defined as "life dominated by principle." Three chief engravers and moulders of character, said Father Vaughan, were Heredity, Environment and Education. The general impression of the man and of his style of oratory as expressed by the Montreal daily *Herald* is that: "Father Vaughan has a way with him, a very distinctive personality. He knows how to do what he has to do, but the main impression one gets from his manner and method is that he feels he has a mission to do it. He has his eye on Society, the kind of Society that sapped the virility of Rome and of France, and whose manifestations he finds very much the same now as they were then. Against Society, perishing amid soft Capuan delights, he appeals to the individual, to personality, to character. That is his whole scheme, apparently, and to the enforcement of the doctrines involved he brings all the resources of scholarship and of oratory, with the something more which is Bernard Vaughan and nobody else." Unfortunately some remarks about Protestantism were taken amiss. Later during the week the Reverend lecturer publicly expressed his regrets that he should have been misunderstood; he had nothing but kind feelings towards Protestants, which however did not prevent him from presuming to judge Protestantism.

The solemn opening of the Twenty-first Eucharistic Congress took place on Tuesday evening. By that time one hundred and ten members of the hierarchy had arrived. They came from every part of Canada and the United States, from England, Ireland and Scotland, from British Guiana and Argentina; from Germany, France and Belgium; from the West Indies and Australia; from Martinique, Mexico and Central America; from Cape Colony in South Africa and Wellington in New Zealand. Princes of the Church, Archbishops, Bishops and Monsignori, heads of Religious Orders and Religious communities, and more than two thousand of the reverend clergy, secular and regular, with hundreds of thousands of the Faithful, were gathered in the city of Maisonneuve whose first act on landing on this soil had been to raise an altar to the Lord. Père Vimont, runs the story, was the celebrant of the Mass. Turning to the little congregation he spoke in words which in the light of to-day are nothing short of prophetic. "Brethren," he said, "you are a grain of mustard-seed that shall rise and grow till its branches overshadow the earth. You are few, but your work is the work of God. His smile is on you, and your children shall fill the land." The afternoon waned; the sun sank behind the western forest and twilight came on. Fireflies were twinkling over the darkened meadow. They caught them, tied them with threads into shining festoons and hung them before the altar where the Host remained exposed. They then pitched their tents, lighted their bivouac fires, stationed their guards, and lay down to rest.

Such was the birthnight of Montreal. The Eucharistic Christ had taken possession of the island where ever since He has found loving and grateful hearts. Montreal

paid her first honors to the Holy Eucharist on the 18th of May, 1642. What a glorious history has been her devotion to the Blessed Sacrament from that day to this! And how fitting the choice of Montreal for the Eucharistic Congress to which should come men of every race and from every clime, subject to the authority of the same pontiff and chanting the same Credo, to profess their unswerving allegiance to their Eucharistic Lord!

MOUNT TABOR OF THE NEW WORLD.

MONTREAL, SEPT. 11, 1910.

The most important exercise on the program of the Eucharistic Congress was undoubtedly the public profession of faith by clergy and laity in the mystery of the Blessed Sacrament. The public and private receptions tendered the Cardinal Legate, the various devotional services in the churches, the almost bewildering succession of public meetings, with morning and afternoon sessions in half-a-dozen spacious halls, where papers were read and lectures delivered for three days, in French for the French Canadians and in English for the others, all treating of the one great theme, how to acquire for oneself and to spread among others the knowledge and praise of Our Lord in the Sacrament of His Love, the procession of thirty thousand children, a spectacle of beauty, as passing with waving flags and dipping bannerets they threw flowers at the foot of the throne of the Papal Legate, the solemn pontifical Mass at midnight in the great church of Notre Dame, attended by fourteen thousand devout worshipers, the assemblage in the Arena of twenty-five thousand young men, La Jeunesse Canadienne, the cream of Canadian youth and the hope of the Church and the Dominion,—all these were but incidents

in the week's work of the Congress, more or less necessary for its completeness and adding variety to the proceedings, but in no way essential, if viewed apart, to the success of the great object which had drawn so many together from all parts of the world. Some of the opening exercises were marred by cold and rain, with serious discomfort to the visitors. The two public demonstrations which were the chief features of the Congress and to the success of which especially the worthy Archbishop of Montreal, the Most Rev. Paul Bruchési, had directed his efforts, were the Solemn Pontifical Mass on Mount Royal, and the procession in honor of the Most Blessed Sacrament, with which the week's festivities came to a close. Both of these demonstrations were carried out with a degree of perfection far surpassing the most sanguine expectation.

The solemn Mass was sung on the wide stretch of green on the slope of the mountain that has given its name to the city lying between its base and the St. Lawrence. The services were to have taken place on Friday, but owing to the state of the weather were wisely deferred to the day following. Of course, Pontifical Mass, on the mountain side, is no unusual spectacle for Canadians; but on this occasion the environment was different and the added features rare. Never in the history of Canada has so tremendous and imposing an assemblage gathered to participate in a single act of worship and of faith. The scene was one of indescribable beauty. After days of clouds and rain not a fleck was seen in the vault of blue which enclosed the ceremonies and the multitude as in some majestic temple not made of hands. The day was bright and clear, the air crisp with the vigor of a September morn. The sun diffused a gentle

radiance. The earth was mantled in richest green, and as far as the eye could reach myriad faces turned to the central point, where the Sacrifice of Calvary was to be consummated once more. The towering mountain in the background added to the solemnity and the awe. In what other spot on earth could nature present such a curtain against which to project this amazing picture! For the nonce Mount Royal became Mount Tabor and not a soul present but felt as the Apostles when they exclaimed, "Lord, it is good for us to be here." "The mountains will skip with joy," said the eloquent Dominican, as he spoke to that vast congregation, and so it seemed. The canopy erected over the altar was massive in construction and gigantic in its proportions. Its dazzling whiteness contrasted with the blue of the sky and the green of the fields. The festoons and banners only heightened the effect. The figured angels from its summit seemed to trumpet to the four quarters of the globe a summons to all Christians to be present at the adorable sacrifice, while high above all a brilliant cross, whose electric bulbs were turned by sunlight to studded diamonds, proclaimed the coming of the King of Kings.

It was a happy thought to bring the massive bells from a city church and hang them on a gigantic frame-work far out on the field. All morning long the chimes pealed. The bass tones of the huge bourdon carried the softer trebles announcing the Sanctus, and doubled and prolonged peals of music proclaimed the solemn moment when the Sacred Host was raised on high. Every head was bared and every knee was bent. Were there two hundred or three hundred thousand standing and kneeling around that great white throne? There was no counting the number. Yet when the Cardinal Legate imparted the

benediction at the end of the Mass, one standing on the fringe of that vast throng caught the words of the solemn invocation, or at least a word or two distinctly though faintly, wafted, as it were, by angels on the still air,—a benediction not soon to be forgotten. David, the prophet, beheld a vision similar to that witnessed Saturday on Mount Royal, when he sang, "Bless the Lord, O my soul; O Lord my God, thou art exceeding great. Thou hast put on praise and beauty: and art clothed with light as with a garment. Who stretchest out the heaven as a pavilion. Who makest Thy angels spirits. The mountains ascend, and the plains descend into the place which thou hast founded for them. Let all the earth be moved at His presence. Say ye among the Gentiles, the Lord hath reigned."

THE FINAL TRIUMPH.

The Eucharistic Procession on Sunday, which was the crowning event of the Congress, was vast and imposing. It was planned and carried out on a scale of magnificence never witnessed before on the North American continent. Notre Dame was the starting point and Mount Royal the glorious terminus. The three miles of intervening streets were bright with color and joyous with life. Flags and festoons and varied decorations, with the papal colors predominating, fairly hid from view the houses and public buildings along the route. The people! There is the story. What a concourse! Where they came from no one knows, how many viewed the procession one can but surmise. Montreal was there and the visitors who had arrived that morning added another hundred thousand to the vast assemblage of visitors during the week. Every coign of vantage was taken by

reverent sightseers. Roadway and sidewalk, and the approaches to the houses, balconies and windows up to the very roofs and the roofs themselves were filled with the expectant throng. Here and there tiers upon tiers of seats were occupied by members of the Religious sisterhoods, while near them arrayed in white sat the pupils they taught or the orphans they had in charge. The great Church of St. Louis was all but lost to view behind the immense stands erected for the people. Nowhere was there a seat to spare.

The day had the golden glow that occasionally marks the late summer in Canada. Earth, air and sky seemed in harmony with the occasion. It was warmer than on the previous day. The earnest prayers of many had been heard. There was a soothing balm in the breeze, and from the great stretches of lawn on the mountain rose a delicate heat haze. The day had proved propitious, and every heart was grateful. It was one o'clock when the procession started. Four hours later the solemn peal of the bourdon of Notre Dame, one of the largest bells in the world, and the joyous clangor of all the bells in the city, proclaimed to the hundreds of thousands of the faithful that the Cardinal Legate, carrying the Sacred Host, was leaving the great church that overlooks Place d'Armes.

The demonstration was in the widest sense international. Every part of Canada, every state in the Union, South America and Mexico, Europe, Africa and Asia, were represented in that tribute of love and adoration to the Eucharistic Emmanuel. Police, firemen, zouaves, cadets, Catholic young men, Hibernians, Catholic Foresters, French-Canadian Artisans, Knights of Columbus, Irish Societies, Montreal Parish Organizations, Indians

from Caughnawaga, some of them in the dress of the chieftains of their tribe, Chinese, proudly flying the dragon banner of the Celestial Kingdom, Syrians, Italians, Greek Catholics, Lithuanians, Poles, groups of other nationalities in varying picturesqueness, among them the Catholic Club of New York, the Stars and Stripes in the van, delegates from Boston, Brooklyn, Plattsburg, N. Y., and towns of New Jersey, the Pittsburgh choir, such were some of the constituents of the first part of the procession representing the laity. Then followed a striking array of Franciscans, Jesuits, Dominicans, Redemptorists, Trappists and Priests and Brothers of various Religious congregations.

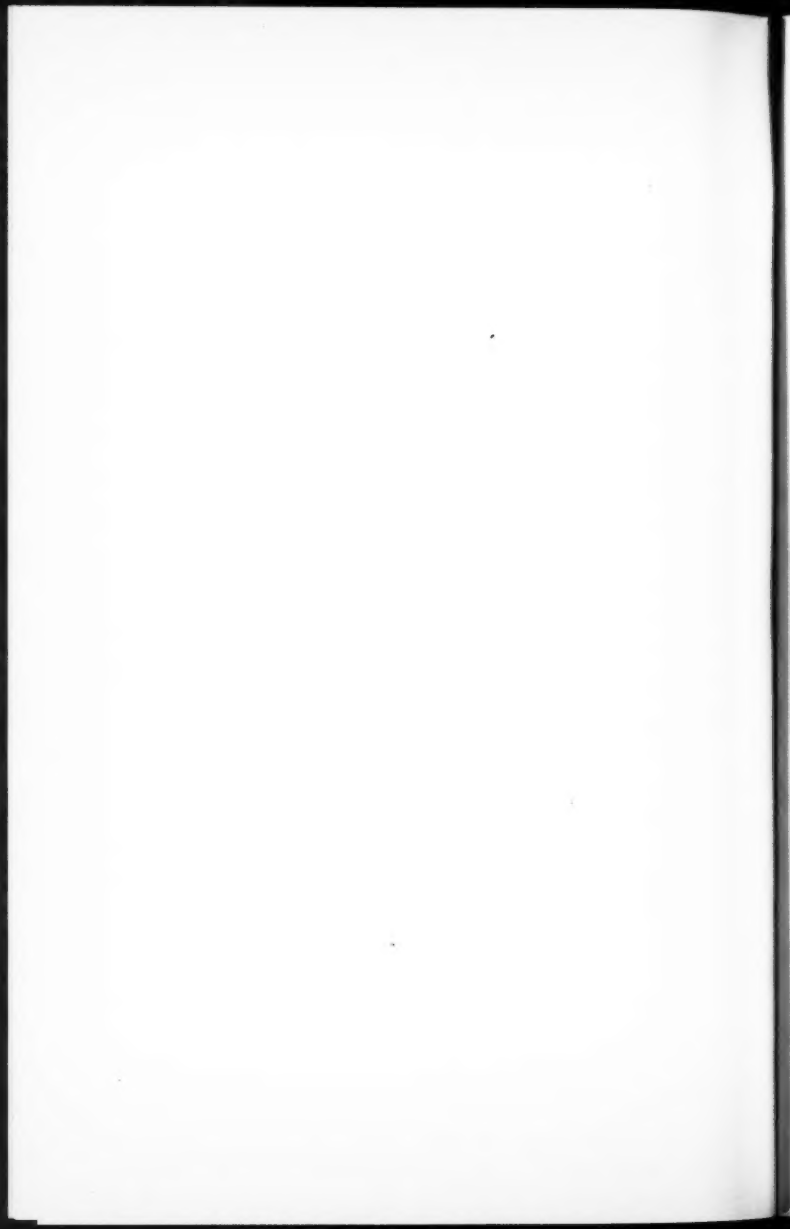
Quite a different picture was presented by a great choir of boys in scarlet cassocks and white surplices, singing hymns in praise of the Blessed Sacrament and leading an apparently endless number of seminarians and priests, canons, mitred abbots, one hundred and twenty-five bishops and archbishops, each clad in the vestments of his ecclesiastical rank, preceding the baldachino, under which walked the stately Papal Legate, bearing the Sacred Host, and followed by Cardinal Logue, Primate of All Ireland and Cardinal Gibbons, of Baltimore. After the Church dignitaries came another notable array. Cheers broke out when the tall figure of the Prime Minister, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, was discerned at the head of several of the highest officials in the Dominion, the Hon. Secretary of State, the Hon. Minister of Marine and the Speaker of the House of Commons. Then came Sir Lomer Gouin, Premier of Quebec, with many members of the Legislative Assembly, the Chief Justices and the Justices of the Court of Appeals, and the Superior Court in their robes; Mayor Guerin, of Montreal, the City Clerk, Mem-

bers of the Board of Control and City Council, judges, a long line of members of the bar, the faculty of Laval University, in cap and gown, and hundreds of professional men, wearing frock coats and silk hats. Governor Pothier, of Rhode Island, and staff, the latter in their uniforms, had a special place of honor.

The lay organizations had their bands of music. The singing of the children, and of many church choirs stationed at different points along the route would alone have inspired devotion if devotion were wanting. The clergy and religious bodies sang hymns or chanted the Magnificat and the Benedictus or said their beads aloud, while now and then a refrain such as the "Sancta Maria Ora pro nobis," would be caught up and chanted in unison by people and clergy.

Before the Cardinal Legate had reached the magnificent repository on Mount Royal, the hastening day had closed, and the late summer evening faded into night. The moon shed its pale beams from beyond the mountain. A blaze of glorious light illumined the altar and the towering canopy. Three thousand voices solemnly intoned the *Tantum Ergo*, the Benediction of the Most Blessed Sacrament was imparted to the vast host of silent adorers to the booming of cannon and the clangor of bells, and the great Eucharistic Congress of 1910 was at an end.

EDWARD SPILLANE, S.J.



The Holy Eucharist in Early Canada *

BY REV. THOMAS J. CAMPBELL, S.J.

The first chapter of the history of the Blessed Eucharist in our part of the world would, of course, be an account of the efforts of the Bishops of Greenland to establish a Christian colony in America 1,000 years ago. Unfortunately, however, we cannot fix with any degree of certainty even the location of the famous Vinland, but as we know that not only priests but also bishops crossed the intervening sea, to look after their flocks, we are safe in concluding that the Holy Sacrifice was offered on these coasts with all the pomp and solemnity which the ritual requires when prelates officiate at the altar.

We obtain more definite information as we approach nearer to modern times, when England was still Catholic. Rut was sent out, in 1527, to explore the northern parts of the Continent. His ship was the *Mary of Guilford*, and the chaplain of the expedition is described as a "canon of St. Paul's in London, a very learned man and mathematician." The ports of Newfoundland, Cape Breton and Norembega were visited and men were sent ashore to examine the country. It is inconceivable that the "learned man and mathematician" should have remained on board the ship on such occasions, and especially that in his capacity as priest he should not have

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availed himself of the opportunity of celebrating Mass somewhere on the coast so as to take possession of the land for Christ. The presence of this London canon on the Mary of Guilford also brings out the interesting fact that the Gospel must have been first preached here in the English tongue.

The journal of Jacques Cartier in 1536 furnishes us with much valuable information about the subject with which we are now concerned. We have, for instance, the following entry: "Before setting out, by command of the captain"—namely himself—"and with the perfect good will of the men, each one of the crew went to confession; and on Pentecost Sunday, May 6, 1535, we all received our Creator in the Cathedral of St. Malo, and were afterwards admitted to the choir where the Bishop in his robes gave us his benediction."

Such was Cartier's prelude to his discoveries. He took with him two Benedictine monks as chaplains, Dom Guillaume le Breton and Dom Antoine; and he is careful to note the various places where he had them go ashore to celebrate Mass. The ugly Esquimaux, whom nobody thought of, were the first to be so honored, for Ferland tells us (p. 18) that Cartier entered the port of Ilettes, now called Brador, and then the harbor of Brest or Vieuxpont. The journal also notes that "Mass was said there on St. Barnabas's Day (June 11), for all the crew;" *i. e.*, no one was left on board the ship; but it does not tell us if any of the natives gathered around wondering at the solemn ceremony.

Of course Mass was offered on shipboard whenever the weather permitted, and it is very probable that when "the vessel was driven for shelter into a beautiful and great bay full of islands, and with easy access and pro-

tection from the sea," the two monks did not fail to ascend the altar. It was then August 10th, the feast of St. Lawrence, in commemoration of which Cartier named the Bay. According to Ferland, that harbor was probably St. Genevieve, nine miles from Esquimaux Point.

Cartier ascended the St. Lawrence, and one is tempted to ask whether when he climbed the hill which he called Mount Royal, he ordered the celebration of Mass, thus anticipating Maisonneuve by a hundred years. There is no record of his having done so, but the man who would go ashore among the Esquimaux for the first solemn prise de possession might be counted on to do the same when the Sault barred his further progress up the river, especially as he had decided that it was the best place to establish a city.

His devotion to the Holy Eucharist is very touchingly told in his description of the terrible winter which he was compelled to pass at the foot of the Rock of Quebec. Out of 110 of his men 100 were down with the scurvy. "I therefore," he says, "placed an image of the Blessed Virgin on a tree about a musket shot from the fort, and ordered that on the following Sunday, all, both sick and well, who were able to go over the snow and ice, should make a pilgrimage thither, singing the seven psalms of David and the litany, to implore the Blessed Virgin that she would deign to ask her dear Son to have pity on us. When the Mass was said and sung before the said image I constituted myself Master Pilgrim to Our Lady, who is prayed to at Rocamadour (*qui se fait prier*), promising to go thither if God would grant us the grace to return to France."

That scene of the perishing crew and scurvy-stricken sailors kneeling on the ice during both High and Low

Mass, with the blasts of the Laurentides sweeping down upon them during their long prayers, ought to be portrayed on canvas by some great artist and given a prominent place in the basilica of historic Quebec.

Though Henry Hudson was not of the household of the faith, it may not be out of place to notice here, that before venturing on his expedition to discover the Northwest passage, in 1609, he went, with his crew, in solemn procession, to the church of St. Ethelburga, off Bishopsgate Street, London, where they received Communion and implored God's help in their perilous undertaking; and ten years later, the devout and heroic Danish explorer, Jens Munck, who nearly perished amid the horrors of Hudson Bay, had as his chaplain "a priest," who celebrated all the festivals of the Church and regularly made "the offertory" for the crew.

Of course valid orders had not persevered in England and Denmark when Hudson received "communion," nor were the "offertories" of Munck's priest-chaplain the Mass. But both of these instances illustrate how the Eucharistic traditions still lingered in both England and Denmark. It is consoling to see them connected with these first American explorations.

Then comes a gap of 70 years, and the next priests who appear in this part of the world were the two who went with de Monts to Acadia; one the Abbé Aubry, who nearly lost his life in the woods, and shortly after returned to France; and another, who died almost as soon as he landed. After them comes the Abbé Flesche, who was decorated with the singular baptismal name of Joshua, and who for the prodigality of his baptisms was recalled to France. Finally, on May 22, 1611, the Jesuits, Biard and Massé arrived.

All of these priests celebrated Mass frequently, if not regularly, but the conditions were hard and at times impossible. There are two or three occasions which, on account of their picturesque surroundings, call for special notice.

The Commandant Potrin-court had quarreled with one of his officers, Du Pont, who had taken flight and was living among the Indians. As it was morally a very dangerous situation for the fugitive, Father Biard interceded till the Commandant relented and agreed to go in search of him. They found him on the other side of the Bay of Fundy, and after reconciliation with the Commandant, Du Pont went to confession on the beach, the Indians standing at a distance and wondering why he was so long kneeling at the feet of the black-robe. When the poor wretch was shriven, an altar was erected on the shore; and Mass was said, at which Du Pont received his Easter Communion. The place was known as La Pierre Blanche, evidently Whitehead Point on the Grand Menan, off the coast of Maine.

There was another celebration of Mass under still more peculiar conditions. The younger Potrin-court had heard that there was a band of poachers plying their trade some distance up the St. John's River, and he started out to find them. He arrived at night, saluted the fort, and was saluted in return and invited to land. Next morning he went ashore, and Father Biard celebrated Mass on the beach; the poachers, who were all Frenchmen, coming out of their defenses to assist at it like good Christians. When all was over, Potrin-court, to the disgust and amazement of everyone, suddenly announced that the men who had been kneeling around the altar with him, their hearts no doubt filled with

brotherly love, were his prisoners. Wild disorder, of course, ensued, which came nearly ending in bloodshed, but after a night and a day peace was restored, and the captain sailed away with the priest to explore the coast of Maine.

On the 28th of October, 1611, the little ship entered the Kennebec and ventured up the river. How far they went is not said. The Indians were suspected at first, and were kept at a distance, but were at last allowed to board the vessels for trade. Profiting by the opportunity, Biard took a boy with him, and went ashore to celebrate Mass. Meantime the red men became so riotous on the ship, that Potrin-court was several times on the point of ordering a general massacre. The thought of the priest at the altar in the woods was the only thing that prevented his action. Finally the chiefs called off the braves and Father Biard climbed up the ship's side only to learn how near he had come to being killed, with the chalice in his hands. It is to be regretted that it is impossible to identify the place.

As the troubles increased at Port Royal, the Jesuits abandoned it, and settled at Mount Desert, in the present State of Maine. There, says Bancroft, "in front of a cross in the centre of a village, Mass was said, and the Roman Church entered into possession of the soil of Maine." But there were not many Masses said there. The English soon descended upon the colony and gave it over to the flames, taking away the priests to hang them in Virginia; a project which a merciful Providence prevented. The name St. Sauveur, which was given to the settlement, still remains, and has even been appropriated by the Episcopalian chapel of the place.

It is somewhat surprising that, when Champlain

brought over the Recollects in 1615, the first Mass which was offered was not at Quebec, but further up the river, namely, on the Island of Montreal, on June 24th. Champlain himself tells us that "the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass was sung on the shore of the Rivière des Prairies with great devotion by Fathers Denis and Joseph, in presence of all the people, who admired the vestments, which were more beautiful than anything those people had ever seen, for this was the first time Mass was ever celebrated there."

It appears that Father Joseph LeCaron was very anxious to see the Hurons, and hence as soon as he left the ship, he hurried up to the Sault beyond Montreal. Champlain had followed him, and when LeCaron was on his way back they met at a place where the Rivière des Prairies empties into the St. Lawrence. There they waited until someone was sent down to Quebec, for the vestments and chalice. Unfortunately the exact site where the important event took place has never been identified.

It is, of course, quite incorrect to say that this was the first Mass ever offered in New France, for twelve years previous to the advent of the Recollects, the priests who had come over with De Monts had officiated in Acadia; and Cartier's chaplains had said Mass at Quebec during the whole winter of 1536.

On June 26th, 1615, Father Dolbeau offered the Holy Sacrifice at Quebec; Father LeCaron at Three Rivers on July 26; and Dolbeau at Tadousac in the early part of the same year. On none of these occasions is there mention of any particular solemnity, but when Father Paul arrived at Tadousac two years later, after a perilous voyage, the sailors hurried ashore to build a chapel, which

they decorated as well as they could. While they were at Mass some remained on the ship, and after the elevation, the cannon boomed over the waters of the St. Lawrence and up the deep gorge of the Saguenay. Le Jeune was the first priest to celebrate Mass on the Isle Jésus. The Governor, Montmagny, was with him at the time.

There is a curious conflict of authorities about the first Mass that was said at Quebec after the return of the French in 1632. The "*Abregé Chronologique et Historique de tous les Prêtres du Canada*" pretends that a priest of the Missions Etrangères named Benoit Duplein, who could speak English, had remained in the City, and had continued to say Mass during all the time of the occupation. Unfortunately for this claim, the Society of the Missions Etrangères was not established until forty years later. The year 1632 was evidently mistaken for 1672, for, at the latter date, there was a Benoit Duplein of the Missions Etrangères in Quebec. Possibly, also, the writer was misled by the official register of Quebec in which it is said that a daughter of Couillard was baptized in 1631. She was indeed baptized, but the officiating clergyman was the Protestant minister who had come to the city with Kirke, in 1629. The Couillard family probably thought it was the best thing they could do, especially as they saw that the parson was being brutally treated by Kirke, for having protested against the liquor traffic, and also for attempting to prevent the execution of some Iroquois captives. He was kept a prisoner for six months in the dilapidated Recollect convent, on the charge of fomenting rebellion among the soldiers. No doubt he was glad to see the French return to their possession. As for the Mass, Le Jeune in the

"Relation" of 1632, distinctly says that there were no priests in Quebec during the occupation, and that the French who remained had not heard Mass for three years. It was he himself who said the first Mass; and it was celebrated in Couillard's house on the 13th or 14th of July. The house had to be used, for the English had burned the chapel in the basse ville.

After Champlain returned, piety reigned in Quebec, and Le Jeune writes that the scenes at Mass almost made him think he was home again, in France. The church was crowded at all the services, the ceremonies were carried out with all possible solemnity, and the fervor of the colonists resembled that of the first Christians. It should be noted, however, that it was a penal offence to be absent from Mass.

It is sometimes asked whether the old missionaries always celebrated Mass on their apostolic journeys through the forests. Sometimes they did, but often it was absolutely out of the question. Thus Father Jogues never offered the Holy Sacrifice during all the time he was in New York. It was impossible, of course, when he was carried thither as a prisoner, with his body slashed and his hands crippled and mangled. Nor could he do so on his second visit, for he was warned to have nothing sacerdotal, even in his appearance; and he went there as an envoy of the Government, in the garb of a layman; and on his last and fatal journey, he took neither vestments nor chalice with him; for he only intended to remain with the Mohawks during winter, "for penance, he said, and without Mass or the sacraments." He was captured at Lake George, and was killed almost as soon as he arrived at Ossernenon. The famous box which excited the Indians contained only a few necessary things.

According to Governor Kieft, they were the priest's clothes.

When Father Druillettes made his wonderful journey in a canoe from Quebec to Boston, he was cordially received by the old Puritans, and he tells us that he was the guest of Major Gibbons, who gave him a key to his room where he might say his prayers without fear of being disturbed. Whether he availed himself of that seclusion to offer up the Holy Sacrifice he does not say. But as our only source of information is a public document in which he had to restrict himself to an account of the official work which he was sent to perform, we cannot expect to have any information on the matter of his private devotions. It might have compromised Gibbons.

It was evidently impossible for de Brébeuf and Chaumonot to have said Mass even once during their terrible winter journey of four months from Lake Huron to Niagara, and from there to where Detroit now stands, and then back to the place whence they had started. Almost every wigwam either barred its doors against them or drove them out into the snow. Millet, in his five years' captivity at Oneida never said Mass.

In Marquette's exploration of the Mississippi, there is no mention, as far as we are aware, of his ever landing for that purpose; but there is a valuable bit of Eucharistic information in his account of his journey to the Illinois in the following year. His two men, Pierre and Jacques, went to confession and received Holy Communion twice a week. They were antedating considerably the practice of the present day.

There is another notable example of frequency of Communion in the account of the last terrible days of

Father Ménard's life out on the shores of Lake Superior. The chronicle thus presents it:—

"In the second winter, an attempt was made to fish, and it was pitiable to see these poor Frenchmen in a canoe amid rain and snow, driven hither and thither by the whirlwinds of these great lakes. They frequently had their hands and feet frozen, and sometimes were overtaken by snow so thick that the man steering the canoe could not see his companion in the bow. But while destitute of bodily comfort they were strengthened by heavenly favors. As long as the Father was alive, they had Holy Mass every day, and confessed and received Holy Communion about once a week." The men succeeded in getting back to Quebec, but Ménard died further on in the wilderness.

Of course when circumstances permitted, these great missionaries did not allow the opportunity to pass of saying Mass, no matter what intense suffering it caused them. Thus Albanel tells us that for four successive days on the Saguenay, while the tempest was howling in the bay, the fire was extinguished in the wigwam so as to prevent the priest from being stifled by the smoke in which he would otherwise be obliged to stand, and then, in the almost insufferable cold which resulted, the Indians knelt around the rude altar until the priest had finished, and the fire was again lighted.

Father Buteux, the apostle of Three Rivers, has left us some very graphic descriptions of these ceremonies in the wilderness. Thus, for instance, at the end of March, 1651, he started with a band of Indians for the whitefish country. At night they slept in an excavation of snow. Some soldiers who had made that first day's journey with them, said it was like going into a sepulchre,

and they turned back next day to Three Rivers, while Buteux and his Indians proceeded North. They had little or no provisions and were in constant dread of the Iroquois. "On the fourth day," writes Buteux, "I said Mass on a little island. It was the first time the adorable Sacrifice was offered in these parts. There was a discharge of musketry at the Elevation, and after Mass a feast of Indian corn and eels.

"On the seventh day we walked from three o'clock in the morning till one o'clock in the afternoon, in order to reach an island where I wanted to say Mass, for it was Palm Sunday. I succeeded, but I had a share in the sufferings of the Passion of Our Good Master. My thirst made my tongue adhere to my palate. The extra burden I had to carry when my man left me, aggravated my pains. The Indians saw my weakness during Mass and afterwards gave me some sagamite made especially for me, which consisted of dough boiled in water, and with it half of a dried eel.

"The thirteenth day was the hardest of all. We started out at three in the morning, by horrible roads, through underbrush so thick it was impossible to find place for our feet or our raquettes. I got lost several times because I could not follow the trail. We then reached some lakes where the ice was very slippery, yet impossible to walk on without raquettes, for there was danger of going through the ice; and, on the other hand, the snow and melting ice made our feet very heavy. At mid-day we stopped, and I had the happiness of saying Mass, which was my only consolation. There I found strength in my weariness. To revive me, for I was exhausted, they offered me a piece of beaver which had been left over from the day before. I did not take

it, but offered it to our Lord, for I had not tasted meat from the beginning of Lent.

"The fourteenth day was Easter Sunday, the ninth of April, and I was very much consoled at the piety displayed by the Indians. Our little chapel, built of cedar and pine branches, was extraordinarily decorated, that is to say, each one had brought whatever pictures and new stuffs he had and hung them here and there on the walls. After I had blessed the congregation with holy water and distributed the pain benit which was a piece of bread I had kept for that purpose, the chief made a speech to excite the devotion of his people. When Communion and thanksgiving were over, and the beads recited, they came to offer me some little presents; one gave me a piece of fat elk-meat, another a partridge, and so on. They deprived themselves of these things to give them to me, in spite of the hunger that was gnawing their vitals as well as mine."

There are many more heroic acts of homage to the Blessed Sacrament through the north woods during the wonderful career of Father Buteux. The incidents just related occurred at the end of his life. He was killed in those same forests and his body was thrown into the rapids.

In Father de Crespieul's "Relation" we have a description of a Repository of the Blessed Sacrament in the forests beyond the Saguenay, which is worth reproducing here. "Our journey ended," he says, "at the Lake of the Cross, so called from its shape. It was Holy Week, and the locality suggested that more than the usual devotion should be displayed in the adoration of the Holy Cross; and though it may excite astonishment that for the proper celebration of the most august mysteries

of our religion, we were unable to find room in our poor cabin for everything that conformity with the Church requires during Holy Week, yet we accomplished it, in order to bring our winter to a happy end, and to consecrate those rocks and mountains by all we possess of what is holiest and most worthy of veneration. Thursday, Friday and Saturday of Holy Week converted our forests into a chapel and our cabin into a repository, where very few of the ceremonies, observed at the time by Christians, were omitted by our Indians. Above all they showed profound respect, and maintained religious silence in the cabin in which the blessed Sacrament was placed during the night between Thursday and Friday; thus in the depth of that desert this august mystery was honored without ceasing, by continual prayer, which suffered no interruption in the darkness of the night. Easter Sunday crowned it all by a general Communion."

The Assouapmouchouan, which empties into the Saguenay, had been called the River of the Blessed Sacrament by Dablon in 1660. Jogues had so called Lake George in 1646. The question naturally arises how did they procure wine for Mass in these solitudes. Of course they had to carry it with them on journeys such as we have been describing. But in their ordinary places of abode they made it out of wild grape. We read in Sagard (v. 1, 228) that "when our little barrel of wine gave out, as it soon did, for it held only two pots full, we made wine from the wild grape. Our wine press was a mortar, and our strainer one of the altar linens. We could only make a limited amount, for our tub was only a small bucket made of bark. The pressed grapes were mixed with sugar and made into a confection to eat on recreation days, or to give to any of our com-

patriots who might visit us. They could take a little of it on the point of a knife."

There are not many instances recorded of the seizure of the priest's vestments by the savages. The chalice and vestments of the Recollect Viel, who was drowned at Sault au Récollet, were taken, but recovered; the latter were, however, in rags, the Indians having used them for decorations. When Le Maitre, the Sulpitian, was beheaded near Montreal, a savage was seen shortly after clothed in the priest's vestments strutting defiantly before the French palisade. The chalice of Chabanel, who was murdered on the Nottawasaga River, was taken by the assassin and given to his mother, but as a great many misfortunes immediately befel the family, she threw it in the river. Doubtless the Indians who killed de Brébeuf and Lalemant carried off the sacred vessels, though nothing is said of it in the "Relations." But we know that everything that could be found in Rasle's chapel was seized by the English and brought to Boston. His crucifix and the "strong box," in which he probably kept his chalice are now in the museum of Portland, Maine. Finally, somewhere at the bottom of the Ottawa River there is, if it has not been rotted to pieces meantime, a box full of altar furniture. The canoe in which it had been put was upset, and though the heroic young Indian Armand, who was in charge of it, clung to it as long as he could at the risk of his own life, it was torn from his grasp by the torrent, and disappeared.

We do not know if the nuns of Quebec made any of the vestments, but we have a record of one devoted sister of the Hôtel Dieu of that city, who supplied chalice-palls for the mission for the space of forty-one years; from 1717 to 1759. In each pall she would insert a prayer,

and an invocation such as *justifica nos, dealba nos, vivifica nos*. It is also said that her labor was so constant that she had made them even during dinner. How she could contrive to do the two things simultaneously is hard to conceive; except that she was a confirmed invalid and ate very little.

There is a very interesting fact with regard to the Holy Eucharist in Canada, which is not generally known, viz.: that the first book written by an American missionary, in this part of the world, was on the Blessed Sacrament. It was by Father Charles Lalemant, the first Jesuit Superior of Quebec, and is entitled "*La Vie Cachée de N.S. Jésus Christ en l'Eucharistie*." It was published in 1660 in France, and during the author's lifetime went through three editions.

On the voyage across the ocean, which sometimes lasted two or three months, the priests never omitted to say Mass when the weather permitted. Sometimes indeed the ritual was carried out with great pomp and solemnity. Thus in the life of Father Menard we have a description of a Corpus Christi procession on ship-board, that is worth quoting:

"Great piety," he says, reigned among the crew, but the devotion was most conspicuous on the feast of the Blessed Sacrament. A magnificent altar was prepared in the cabin of the Admiral, the crew erected another at the prow of the ship, and our Lord, desirous to be adored upon the unstable element, gave us a calm so perfect that we could imagine ourselves floating on a pond. We formed a really solemn procession. Everyone took part in it, and their piety and devotion prompted them to march in excellent order around the deck. Our Brother Dominique Scot, wearing a surplice, carried the

cross, on either side of him were two children each holding a lighted torch; the nuns followed in angelic modesty with their white tapers; after the priest, who carried the Blessed Sacrament, walked the Admiral of the fleet, and then came the whole crew. The cannons made the air and waves resound with thunder, and the angels took pleasure in hearing the praises that our hearts and lips gave to their Prince and to our Sovereign King."

The priests frequently went as chaplains in the wars against both red and white enemies. Indeed, Champlain lays it down as a captain's first duty to have a priest on board his ship on every voyage. Fathers Raffeix and Albanel were in the Mohawk raids in 1666, under de Tracy and Courcelles; and probably celebrated Mass at the place of Jogues' martyrdom; Enjalran was seriously wounded in de Denonville's attack on the Senecas; Rasle was sometimes with the Abanakis in their fights with the English; Silvy, Dalmas and Marest accompanied Iberville, both on his snow-shoe journey to Hudson Bay and in his attacks by sea. One of these priests was exhausted by his labor and recalled; another was murdered, and the third was carried to England as a prisoner. It is of interest to know that in Iberville's splendid fight in the Straits, where with a single ship, he sunk one English vessel, captured a second, and put the third to flight, his chaplain was Father Edward Fitzmorris, of Kerry, a Jacobite priest, about whom, however, no further information is forthcoming, except that the Fitzmorrises were Earls of Kerry.

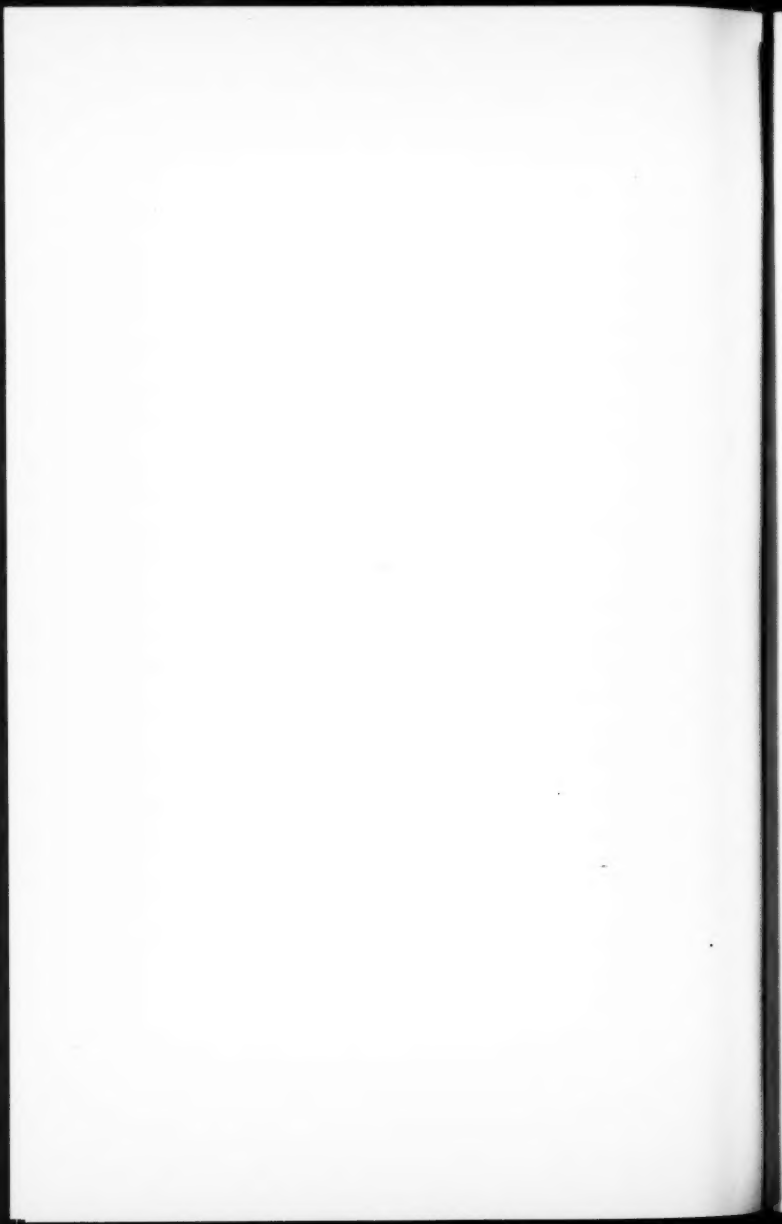
Perhaps the most splendid deed of heroism that has illustrated the history of Montreal is that of Dollard and his seven companions in 1660, who by the sacrifice of their lives saved the entire country from destruction.

Their self-immolation has an intimate connection with the Holy Eucharist; for before going out to battle, they made their wills, bade farewell to their friends, and received Holy Communion. It was their Viaticum. Thus strengthened, they set out joyfully against two hundred Iroquois who were descending the Ottawa. The fight took place at Carillon rapids; the Frenchmen, behind a battered stockade which they found there, the Iroquois swarming up from their canoes in the river. Day after day, and night after night, the struggle continued; the defenders always falling on their knees to thank God after each repulse of the enemy. Dead savages were piled high on each other outside the fort, until at last a reinforcement of five hundred more Indians came up the river. Then the slaughter began, so that when the conquerors entered the palisades there were only five Frenchmen alive, and they, all mangled and bloody, were led away to a horrible death. But the victory was won. The Iroquois abandoned their plan of destroying simultaneously the colonies of Montreal, Three Rivers and Quebec; and sullenly withdrew to their own country, astounded at the resistance of these warriors who had consecrated themselves to death in the blood of Jesus Christ.

It was the spirit of Montreal in those days, which began its life with the memorable first Mass on the river bank at Place Royal. That historic scene in 1642 has been depicted in glowing canvas on the walls of the Cathedral and on the imperishable bronze statue of Maisonneuve. But for a visitor to this city the usual sordid conditions of the Place Royale are not at all in keeping with the sacredness of the memory it evokes, and the mean and meagre and half-hearted inscription

on the facade of the Custom House announcing that "after a religious ceremony" Maisonneuve established the city, is almost a shock for one who knows how that event of the Sacrifice of the Mass was essential to the first throbs of life that pulsed through the heart of the city that was then being established.

However, the Sacred Host was that day elevated above the island, as it had been at Quebec 106 years before. From those two sanctuaries it was carried aloft by heroic missionaries over the mighty rivers and lakes of the vast country, through almost impenetrable forests and across ice-clad mountains, proclaiming, as it passed, the message of Christianity and civilization, until to-day it is exposed on the altars of an uninterrupted line of splendid cathedrals that stretch from the Atlantic to the Pacific. When the old Jesuit missionary erected the cross at the cataract of Niagara, he wrote upon it *Christus vincit, regnat, imperat*. That declaration sees its fulfilment to-day in Canada, and it has been brought about by what is Christ's chief instrument, the Adorable Sacrament of the Eucharist, by which He conquers, reigns and governs.



Pius X on Recent Manifestations of Modernism

The following is the *Motu Proprio* of our Holy Father Pope Pius X against the modernist propaganda.

None of the Bishops, We believe, can have failed to observe how that most cunning class of persons, the Modernists, though unmasked by the Encyclical Letter *Pascendi Dominici gregis*, have not abandoned their designs on the peace of the Church. For they continue to enroll new associates and to band them together in a secret alliance and with these they are now engaged in inoculating into the veins of the Christian people the poison of their opinions by means of books and pamphlets published anonymously or under false names. To those who read again and more closely the document just mentioned, it will be clear that this climax of audacity, which has caused us such grief, proves that these men are really as we described them, and enemies all the more to be feared by reason of their proximity, and who abuse their ministry to catch by their poisoned bait those who are not on their guard and are liable to be led astray by a semblance of science which contains the germs of all errors.

But as this pest is spreading in a part of the field of the Lord from which the fairest fruits were to be expected if it is the duty of all the Pastors to labor for the defence of the Catholic faith, and to use the utmost vigilance that the Divine deposit suffer no hurt, upon Us especially rests the charge of obeying the commands of

Christ the Saviour who said to Peter, whose supreme authority We, unworthy though We are, have received: *Confirm thy brethren*. And this is why We deem it well in the present conflict to recall to memory the following teachings and rulings contained in Our Letter above-mentioned:

"We beg and conjure you to see to it that in this most grave matter nobody will ever be able to say that you have been in the slightest degree wanting in vigilance, zeal or firmness. And what we ask of you and expect of you, We ask and expect also of all other pastors of souls, of all educators and professors of clerics, and in a very special way of the superiors of religious institutions.

RULES FOR STUDY.

"I. In the first place, with regard to studies, We will and ordain that scholastic philosophy be made the basis of the sacred sciences. It goes without saying that if anything is met with among the scholastic doctors which may be regarded as an excess of subtlety, or too carelessly stated; if there is anything which does not square with later discoveries, or which is altogether destitute of probability, We have no desire whatever to propose it for the imitation of present generations. (Leo XIII, Enc. *Aeterni Patris*). And let it be clearly understood above all things that the scholastic philosophy We prescribe is that which the Angelic Doctor has bequeathed to us, and We, therefore, declare that all the ordinances of Our Predecessor on this subject continue fully in force, and, as far as may be necessary, We do decree anew, and confirm, and ordain that they be by all strictly observed. In seminaries

where they may have been neglected let the Bishops impose them and require their observance, and let this apply also to the Superiors of religious institutions. Further, let Professors remember that they cannot set St. Thomas aside, especially in metaphysical questions, without grave detriment. *A small error at the beginning, to use the words of Aquinas, becomes great in the end.*

"On this philosophical foundation the theological edifice is to be solidly raised. Promote the study of theology, Venerable Brethren, by all means in your power, so that your clerics on leaving the seminaries may admire and love it and always find their delight in it. *For, in the vast and varied abundance of studies opening before the mind desirous of truth, everybody knows how the old maxim describes theology as so far in front of all others that every science and art should serve it and be to it as handmaidens.* (Leo XIII, Let. *In magna* 10 Dec. 1889). We will add that We deem worthy of praise those who with full respect for tradition, the Holy Fathers, and the ecclesiastical magisterium, undertake, with well-balanced judgment and guided by Catholic principles (which is not always the case), to illuminate positive theology by throwing the light of true history upon it. Certainly more attention must be paid to positive theology than in the past, but this must be done without detriment to scholastic theology, and those are to be disapproved as of modernist tendencies who exalt positive theology in such a way as to seem to despise the scholastic.

PROFANE STUDIES.

"With regard to profane studies suffice it to recall here what Our Predecessor has admirably said: *Apply*

yourselves energetically to the study of natural sciences: the brilliant discoveries and the bold and useful applications of them made in our times, which have won such applause from our contemporaries, will be an object of perpetual praise for those who come after us. (Leo XIII, Alloc. 7 March, 1880). But do this without interfering with sacred studies, as Our Predecessor urges in these most grave words: If you carefully search for the cause of these errors you will find that it lies in the fact that these days when the natural sciences absorb so much study, the more severe and lofty studies have been proportionately neglected—some of them have almost passed into oblivion, some of them are pursued in a half-hearted or superficial way and sad to say, now that they are fallen from their old estate, they have been disfigured by perverse doctrines and monstrous errors. (Loc. cit.) We ordain therefore that the study of natural science in the seminaries be carried on under this law.

MODERNISTS IN SEMINARIES AND UNIVERSITIES.

“II. All these prescriptions and those of Our Predecessor are to borne in mind whenever there is question of choosing directors and professors for seminaries and Catholic universities. Anybody who in any way is found to be imbued with modernism is to be excluded without compunction from these offices and those who already occupy them are to be removed. The same policy is to be adopted toward those who favor modernism either by extolling the Modernists or excusing their culpable conduct, or by criticising scholasticism and the Holy Fathers, or by refusing obedience to ecclesiastical author-

ity in any of its depositaries; and towards those who show a love of novelty in history, archaeology, biblical exegesis, and finally towards those who neglect the sacred sciences or appear to prefer to them the profane. In all this question of studies, Venerable Brethren, you cannot be too watchful or too constant, but most of all in the choice of professors, for as a rule the students are modeled after the pattern of their masters. Strong in the consciousness of your duty, act always prudently but vigorously.

CANDIDATES FOR HOLY ORDERS.

"Equal diligence and severity are to be used in examining and selecting candidates for Holy Orders. Far, far from the clergy be the love of novelty! God hates the proud and the obstinate. For the future the Doctorate of theology and canon law must never be conferred on anybody who has not made the regular course of scholastic philosophy; if conferred it shall be held as null and void. The rules laid down in 1896 by the Sacred Congregation of Bishops and Regulars for the clerics, both secular and regular, of Italy concerning the frequenting of the Universities, We now decree to be extended to all nations. Clerics and priests inscribed in a Catholic Institute or University must not in the future follow in civil Universities those courses for which there are chairs in the Catholic Institutes to which they belong. If this has been permitted anywhere in the past, We ordain that it be not allowed for the future. Let the Bishops who form the Governing Board of such Catholic Institutes or Universities watch with all care that these Our commands be constantly observed.

THE CENSORSHIP OF BOOKS.

"III. It is also the duty of the Bishops to prevent writings infected with modernism or favorable to it from being read when they have been published, and to hinder their publication when they have not. No book or paper or periodical of this kind must ever be permitted to seminarists or university students. The injury to them would be equal to that caused by immoral reading, nay it would be greater for such writings poison Christian life at its very fount. The same decision is to be taken concerning the writings of some Catholics, who though not badly disposed themselves but ill-instructed in theological studies and imbued with modern philosophy, strive to make this harmonize with the faith, and, as they say, to turn it to the account of the faith. The name and reputation of these authors causes them to be read without suspicion, and they are therefore all the more dangerous in preparing the way for modernism.

GENERAL DIRECTIONS.

"To give you some more general directions, Venerable Brethren, in a matter of such moment, we bid you do everything in your power to drive out of your dioceses even by solemn interdict any pernicious books that may be in circulation there. The Holy See neglects no means to put down writings of this kind, but the number of them has now grown to such an extent that it is impossible to censure them all. Hence it happens that the medicine sometimes arrives too late, for the disease has taken root during the delay. We will, therefore, that the Bishops, putting aside all fear and the prudence of the flesh,

despising the outcries of the wicked, gently by all means but constantly, do each his own share of this work, remembering the injunctions of Leo XIII in the Apostolic Constitution *Officiorum*: *Let the Ordinaries, acting in this also as Delegates of the Apostolic See, exert themselves to proscribe and to put out of reach of the faithful injurious books or other writings printed or circulated in their dioceses.* In this passage the Bishops, it is true, receive a right, but they have also a duty imposed on them. Let no Bishop think that he fulfils this duty by denouncing to us one or two books, while a great many others of the same kind are being published and circulated. Nor are you to be deterred by the fact that a book has obtained the *Imprimatur* elsewhere, both because this may be merely simulated, and because it may have been granted through carelessness, or easiness, or excessive confidence in the author as may sometimes happen in religious Orders. Besides, just as the same food does not agree equally with everybody, it may happen that a book harmless in one place, may on account of the different circumstances be hurtful in another. Should a Bishop, therefore, after having taken the advice of prudent persons, deem it right to condemn any of such books in his diocese, we not only give him ample faculty to do so but We impose upon him as a duty to do so. Of course it is Our wish that in such cases the proper regards be used, and sometimes it will suffice to restrict the prohibition to the clergy; but even in such cases it will be obligatory on Catholic booksellers not to put on sale the books condemned by the Bishop. And while We are on this subject of booksellers, We wish the Bishops to see to it that they do not through desire for gain put on sale unsound books. It is certain that in the

catalogues of some of them the books of the Modernists are not unfrequently announced with no small praise. If they refuse obedience let the Bishops have no hesitation in depriving them of the title of Catholic booksellers; so too, and with more reason, if they have the title of Episcopal booksellers, and if they have that of Pontifical let them be denounced to the Apostolic See. Finally We remind all of the XXVI article of the above-mentioned Constitution *Officiorum*: *All those who have obtained an apostolic faculty to read and keep forbidden books are not thereby authorized to read books and periodicals forbidden by the local Ordinaries, unless the apostolic faculty expressly concedes permission to read and keep books condemned by anybody.*

INSTITUTION OF DIOCESAN CENSORS.

“IV. But it is not enough to hinder the reading and the sale of bad books—it is also necessary to prevent them from being printed. Hence let the Bishops use the utmost severity in granting permission to print. Under the rules of the Constitution *Officiorum* many publications require the authorization of the Ordinary and in some dioceses it has been made the custom to have a suitable number of official censors for the examination of writings. We have the highest praise for this institution, and We not only exhort but We order that it be extended to all dioceses. In all episcopal Curias, therefore, let censors be appointed for the revision of works intended for publication, and let the censors, to be chosen from both branches of the clergy, be men of age, knowledge, and prudence who will know how to follow the golden mean in their judgments. It shall be their office to examine

everything which requires permission for publication according to articles XLI and XLII of the above mentioned Constitution. The Censor shall give his verdict in writing. If it be favorable the Bishop will give the permission for publication by the word *Imprimatur*, which must always be preceded by the *Nihil obstat* and the name of the Censor. In the Curia of Rome official censors shall be appointed just as elsewhere, and the appointment of them shall appertain to the Master of the Sacred Apostolic Palace, after they have been proposed to the Cardinal Vicar and accepted by the Sovereign Pontiff. It shall also be the office of the Master of the Sacred Apostolic Palace to select the Censor for each writing. Permission for publication shall be granted by him as well as by the Cardinal Vicar or his Viceregent, and this permission, as above prescribed, must always be preceded by the *Nihil obstat* and the name of the Censor. Only on very rare and exceptional occasions, and on the prudent decision of the Bishop, shall it be permissible to omit mention of the Censor. The name of the censor shall never be made known to the authors until he shall have given a favorable decision, so that he may not have to suffer annoyance either while he is engaged in the examination of a writing or in case he should deny his approval. Censors shall never be chosen from the religious Orders until the opinion of the Provincial, or in Rome of the General, has been privately obtained, and the Provincial or the General must give a conscientious account of the character, knowledge and orthodoxy of the candidate. We admonish religious Superiors of their solemn duty never to allow anything to be published by any of their subjects without permission from themselves and from the Ordinary. Finally We affirm and declare that the title of Censor

has no value and can never be adduced to give credit to his own private opinions.

PRIESTS AS EDITORS AND CORRESPONDENTS.

“ Having said this much in general, We now ordain in particular a more careful observance of article XLII of the above-mentioned Constitution *Officiorum*. It is *forbidden to secular priests, without the previous consent of the Ordinary, to undertake the direction of papers or periodicals*. This permission shall be withdrawn from any priest who makes a wrong use of it, after having been admonished. With regard to priests who are *correspondents or collaborators* of periodicals, as it happens not unfrequently that they write matter infected with modernism for their papers or periodicals, let the Bishops see to it that this is not permitted to happen and should it happen let them warn the writers or prevent them from writing. The Superiors of religious Orders, too, We admonish with all authority to do the same, and should they fail in this duty let the Bishops make due provision with authority delegated by the Supreme Pontiff. Let there be, as far as this is possible, a special Censor for newspapers and periodicals written by Catholics. It shall be his office to read in due time each number after it has been published and if he find anything dangerous in it let him order that it be corrected in the next issue. The Bishop shall have the same right even when the Censor has seen nothing objectionable in a publication.

CONGRESSES OF PRIESTS.

“ V. We have already mentioned Congresses and public gatherings as among the means used by the Modernists

to defend and propagate their opinions. In the future Bishops shall not permit Congresses of priests except on very rare occasions. When they do permit them it shall be only on condition that matters appertaining to the Bishop or the Apostolic See be not treated in them, and that no motions or postulates be allowed that would imply a usurpation of sacred authority, and that no mention be made in them of modernism, the sacred ministry, or laicism. At Congresses of this kind, which can only be held after permission in writing has been obtained in due time and for each case, it shall not be lawful for priests from other dioceses to take part without the written permission of their Ordinary. Further no priest must lose sight of the solemn recommendation of Leo XIII: *Let priests hold as sacred the authority of their prelates, let them take it for certain that the sacerdotal ministry, if not exercised under the guidance of the Bishops, can never be either holy, or very fruitful or without blemish* (Let. Encyc. *Nobilissima Gallorum*, 8 Feb. 1884).

"VI. But of what avail, Venerable Brethren, will be all Our commands and prescriptions, if not dutifully and firmly carried out? And in order that this may be done, it has seemed expedient to Us to extend to all dioceses the regulations laid down with great wisdom many years ago by the Bishops of Umbria for theirs:

COUNCIL OF VIGILANCE.

"In order, they say, to extirpate the errors already propagated and to prevent their further diffusion and to remove those teachers of impiety through whom the pernicious effects of such diffusion are being perpetuated, this sacred Assembly, following the example of St.

Charles Borromeo, has decided to establish in each of the dioceses a Council consisting of approved members of both branches of the clergy, which shall be charged with the task of noting the existence of errors and the devices by which new ones are introduced and propagated, and of communicating all to the Bishop so that he may take counsel with them as to the best means for nipping the evil in the bud and preventing it spreading, or, worse still, gaining strength and growth for the ruin of souls. (Acts of the Congress of the Bishops of Umbria, Nov. 1849). We decree therefore that in every diocese a council of this kind, which We are pleased to name "The Council of Vigilance," be instituted without delay. The priests called to form it shall be chosen somewhat after the manner above prescribed for the Censors, and they shall meet every two months on an appointed day under the presidency of the Bishop. They shall be bound to secrecy as to their deliberations and decisions, and their duty shall be as follows: They shall watch most carefully for every trace and sign of modernism both in publications and in teaching, and, to preserve from it the clergy and the young, they shall take all prudent, prompt and efficacious measures. Let them combat novelties of words remembering the admonitions of Leo XIII (Instruct. S. C. NN. EE. EE., 27 Jan. 1902): *It is impossible to approve in Catholic publications of a style inspired by unsound novelty which seems to deride the piety of the faithful and dwells on the introduction of a new order of Christian life, on new ordinances of the Church, on new aspirations of the modern soul, on a new vocation of the clergy, on a new Christian civilization.* Language of this kind is not to be tolerated either in books or from chairs of learning. The coun-

cils must not neglect the books treating of the pious traditions of different places or of sacred relics. Let them not permit such questions to be discussed in periodicals destined to stimulate piety, neither with expressions that savor of mockery or contempt, nor by dogmatic pronouncements, especially when, as is often the case, what is stated as a certainty either does not pass the limits of probability, or is merely based on prejudiced opinions.

Concerning sacred relics let this be the rule: When the Bishops, who alone are judges in these matters, know for certain that a relic is not genuine let them remove it at once from the veneration of the faithful; if the authentications of a relic happen to have been lost through political disturbances or in some other way, let it not be exposed for public veneration until the Bishop has verified it. The argument of prescription or well-founded presumption is to have weight only when devotion to a relic is commendable by reason of its antiquity, according to the sense of the Decree issued in 1896 by the Congregation of Indulgences and Sacred Relics; *Ancient relics are to retain the veneration they have always enjoyed except in those individual instances when there are clear arguments that they are false or supposititious.*

In passing judgment on pious traditions be it always borne in mind that in this matter the Church uses the greatest prudence and does not permit traditions of this kind to be narrated in books except with the utmost caution and with the insertion of the declaration imposed by Urban VIII; and even then she does not guarantee the truth of the fact narrated: she simply does not forbid belief unless human arguments for belief are wanting.

On this matter the Sacred Congregation of Rites thirty years ago decreed as follows (Decree, May 2, 1877): *These apparitions or revelations have neither been approved nor condemned by the Holy See, which has simply allowed that they be believed on purely human faith, on the traditions that relate them, corroborated by testimonies and documents worthy of credence.* Anybody who follows this rule has no cause for fear. For the devotion based on any apparition, in so far as it regards the fact itself, that is to say as far as it is *relative*, always implies the hypothesis of the truth of the fact; while in as far as it is *absolute*, it must always be based on the truth, seeing that its object is the persons of the saints who are honored. The same is true of relics. Finally We entrust to the Councils of Vigilance the duty of assiduously and diligently watching over social institutions as well as writings on social questions so that they may harbor no trace of modernism but obey the prescriptions of the Roman Pontiffs.

INSTRUCTIONS FOR BISHOPS.

"VII. Lest what We have laid down thus far should fall into oblivion, We will and ordain that the Bishops of all dioceses a year after this publication and every three years thenceforward, furnish the Holy See with a diligent and sworn report on all the prescriptions contained in them, and on the doctrines that find currency among the clergy and especially in the seminaries and other Catholic institutions. We impose the like obligation on the Generals of religious Orders with regard to those under them."

To all this, which We fully confirm under pain of

temerarious conscience upon those who refuse to hearken to Our words, We now add some special instruction concerning ecclesiastical students in the seminaries and aspirants in religious institutes. In the seminaries all the parts of the training must be directed to the formation of priests worthy of the name. For it must not be thought that such institutions are destined merely for study or for piety—they combine both these; they are the training-schools in which the army of Christ is built up by a long course of preparation. In order that a corps thoroughly equipped may come forth from them, two things are fundamentally necessary: doctrine for the culture of the mind, virtue for the perfection of the soul. The former of these demands that ecclesiastical students be highly enlightened in those branches which are closely connected with the studies of divine things; the latter demands a special degree of virtue and constancy. Let the superiors of discipline and piety, therefore, note what promise the individual students give of themselves, and study their characters—whether they give themselves up unduly to their natural bent, whether they show worldly tendencies; whether they obey with docility, are given to piety, not having an exalted idea of themselves, observant of discipline; whether they are led to aspire to the priesthood by a right aim or by human motives; whether, finally, their lives are marked by the holiness and doctrine suitable to their state, or, at least, if any of these be wanting, they endeavor sincerely and willingly to acquire it. Nor does this investigation present excessive difficulties; for the lack of virtue referred to is speedily betrayed by a hypocritical performance of the offices of religion and by the observance of discipline through fear rather than at the dictates of conscience, and the

person who observes discipline through servile fear, or violates it through levity of mind or through contempt, is very far from offering a guarantee of living worthily in the priesthood. For it is not easy to believe that he who despises domestic discipline will not fall away from the public laws of the Church. When a superior of aspirants to the priesthood finds one of them in this frame of mind and after warning him once or twice notes no change for the better, after a year of trial, he should expel him in such a way as to render it impossible for such a student to be again received either by himself or by any bishop.

Therefore, for promoting clerics let these two things be exacted: innocence of life joined with soundness of doctrine. Nor must it be forgotten that the precepts and admonitions addressed by the bishops to those whom they are initiating in sacred orders, are meant as much for themselves as for the candidates; as for instance when it is laid down: Care must be taken that heavenly wisdom, upright life and long observance of justice commend the elect for this office... — Let them be upright and ripe at once in knowledge and in works... let the form of all justice shine forth in them.

With regard to probity of life it would not be necessary to say more were it possible to separate this easily from the doctrines and opinions which a man takes it upon himself to defend. But, as we read in the Book of Proverbs: *A man shall be known by his doctrine*, and as the Apostle teaches: *Whosoever continueth not in the doctrine of Christ hath not God*. How much effort is to be spent in acquiring knowledge of many and various things may be seen from the very conditions of the age which proclaims that the light of progressing humanity

is the most glorious of achievements. All the clergy, therefore, who wish to perform their duties in a manner worthy of the time, fruitfully "to exhort in sound doctrine and to convince the gainsayers," to devote the resources of intellect to the good of the Church, must acquire a knowledge of things beyond the common and approach as closely as possible to the perfection of doctrine. For the fight is one with enemies not lacking in skill whose polished studies are not unfrequently united with a science full of wiles, and whose specious and vibrant sentences are made up of impetuous and sounding phrases so as to make it appear that they contain something entirely new. Hence we must carefully prepare our arms, that is, a rich fund of doctrine is to be acquired by all those who are preparing themselves in retirement for the holiest and most arduous of tasks.

But since the life of man is circumscribed within such limits that it is barely possible for one to learn cursorily something of the immense fund of things that are to be known, the thirst for knowledge must be regulated and the sentence of Paul be acted upon "not to be more wise than it behoveth to be wise but to be wise unto sobriety." Hence as clerics are already sufficiently burdened with the many important studies imposed upon them, relating to sacred literature, to matters of Faith, morals, the knowledge of prayer and work known as ascetics, to the history of the Church, Canon Law, and sacred eloquence, in order that the students may not waste their time in the pursuit of other questions and be distracted from the main object of their studies, We absolutely forbid that any journals or periodicals, however excellent, be read by them, and we lay it on the consciences of superiors to take care scrupulously that this does not happen.

To remove all suspicion of the secret introduction of Modernism, We not only will the absolute observance of the prescriptions contained in No. 2 above, but We ordain moreover that the individual Professors before beginning their lectures at the opening of the year, shall present to the Bishop the text they propose to use in teaching, or the questions or theses which are to be treated; then that the teaching of each of them be examined during the year itself, and should it appear that this is not in harmony with sound doctrine, the fact shall be held sufficient to have the professor removed there and then. Finally, in addition to the profession of faith each professor shall take an oath before his Bishop according to the formula given below and shall sign his name thereto.

This oath, after the profession of Faith in the form prescribed by Our Predecessor Pius IV of holy memory, with the definitions of the Vatican Council, shall be taken in presence of the Bishop by the following:

I. Clerics who are to be initiated in major orders: to each of whom a copy shall be previously presented both of the profession of Faith and of the form of oath so that they may know accurately what they are, and with them the penalties incurred by violation of the oath.

II. Priests appointed for hearing confessions and sacred preachers, before they receive faculties for exercising these sacred offices.

III. Parish priests, canons, holders of livings, before they enter on possession of their benefices.

IV. Officials in the episcopal curias and ecclesiastical tribunals, not excepting the Vicar General and the judges.

V. Lenten preachers.

VI. All officials in the Roman Congregations or Tri-

bunals, before the Cardinal Prefect or the Secretary of the same Congregation or Tribunal.

VII. The Superiors and professors of Religious Orders and Congregations, before they enter on office.

The formula of the profession of Faith, mentioned above, and of the oath, are to be kept in special files in all episcopal curias as well as in the different offices of the Roman Congregations. Now should anyone, which may God forbid, dare to violate the oath, he is to be denounced forthwith to the Holy Office.

"I firmly hold and accept each and every definition of the unerring teaching of the Church, with all she has maintained and declared, but especially those points of doctrine which expressly combat the errors of our time. In the first place I profess my belief that God, the beginning and end of all, can be certainly known and therefore proved to exist by the natural light of reason from the things that are made, that is, from the visible works of the creation as a cause from its effects. Next I recognize and acknowledge the external arguments of revelation, that is, divine facts, especially miracles and prophecies, as most certain signs of the divine origin of the Christian religion, and I hold that these are altogether suited to the understanding of every age and of all men, even of our times. Thirdly, I likewise hold with firm faith that the Church, the guardian and exponent of the revealed Word, was proximately and directly founded by the true and historic Christ Himself, while He dwelt amongst us, and that she was also built upon Peter, the Prince of the Apostolic Hierarchy, and upon his successors to the end of time. Fourthly, I sincerely accept the teaching of faith as transmitted down to us from the Apostles through the orthodox Fathers in the same

sense and ever in the same wording; and, therefore, I wholly reject the heretical notions of the evolution of dogmas, which pass from one sense to another alien to that which the Church held from the start; and I likewise condemn every error whereby is substituted for the divine deposit, entrusted by Christ to His Spouse and by Her to be faithfully guarded, a philosophic system or the creation of a human consciousness, gradually refined by the striving of men and finally to be perfected hereafter by indefinite progress. Fifthly, I hold for certain and sincerely profess that Faith is not a blind religious sense making its way out of the hidden regions of the sub-liminal consciousness, morally tinged by the influence of heart and will, but is a true assent of the intellect to truth received from without by hearing, an assent whereby we believe to be true, because of the authority of the all true God, whatever by the personal God, our Creator and Lord, has been spoken, testified and revealed.

"I further, with all due reverence, submit and with my whole mind adhere to all the condemnations, declarations, and ordinances contained in the Encyclical letter *Pascendi* and in the Decree *Lamentabili*, particularly regarding what is called the history of Dogma.

"I also reject the error of those who aver that the Faith proposed by the Church may be in conflict with history, and that Catholic dogmas in the sense in which they are now understood cannot be harmonized with the more truthful "origins" of Christianity. Moreover, I condemn and reject the opinion which declares that a Christian man of better culture can assume a dual personality, one as a believer and another as an historian, as if it were permissible for the historian to hold fast

what his faith as a believer contradicts, or to lay down premises from which there follows the falsity or the uncertainty of dogmas, provided only that these are not directly denied. Likewise I reject that method of estimating and interpreting Holy Writ, which, setting aside the Church's tradition and the analogy of Faith and the rules of the Apostolic See, adopts the rationalists' principles and with equal arbitrariness and rashness considers criticism of the text the one only supreme rule. Furthermore, I reject the opinion of those who hold that a teacher of the science of Historical Theology or the writer on the subject must first put aside the notions previously conceived about the supernatural origin of Catholic tradition or about the divine aid promised for the perpetual preservation of each revealed truth; then, that the writings of individual Fathers must be interpreted solely by the data of science, without any reference to sacred authority, and with that freedom of judgment wherewith every profane record is usually examined.

"Finally and in general, I declare myself to be far removed from the error of the modernists who hold that in sacred tradition there is nothing inherently divine; or who—far worse still—admit it in a pantheistic sense; so that thus there would remain only a bare simple fact equal to the ordinary facts of history, viz., that the school started by Christ and His Apostles finds, in the ages that follow, men to carry it on by their energy, their skill, and their genius. Wherefore most firmly do I retain and to my last breath will I retain the Faith of the Fathers of the Church concerning the sure endowment of truth, which is, has been, and ever will be in the succession of the Episcopate from the Apostles (St. Irenaeus IV, c. 26); not in such a way that what seems

best and most fitting according to the refinement of each age may be held, but that the absolute and unchangeable truth preached from the beginning by the Apostles may never in any different wise be believed, never in any different wise be understood. (Praeser. c. 28).

"All this I promise that I will faithfully, entirely and sincerely keep and inviolably guard, and from this never in teaching or howsoever by word or writing in the least depart. So I promise, so I swear, so help me God, etc."

ON THE MINISTRY OF THE WORD.

Since, moreover, long experience has taught us that the zeal of the Bishops in providing for the preaching of the Divine word has not produced its proper fruit, not, We think, on account of the negligence of the hearers, but on account of the vanity of preachers whose words are the words of men rather than of God, We have deemed it timely to reproduce here, in Latin, and to recommend to the Ordinaries, the document issued at the command of Our Predecessor Leo XIII, of happy memory, by the Sacred Congregation of Bishops and Regulars on July 31, 1894, and sent to the Ordinaries of Italy and to the Superiors of Religious Orders and Congregations.

1. "And in the first place as regards the ornament of virtue which should above all distinguish sacred orators, let the Ordinaries and the Superiors of Religious Orders take good care never to entrust this holy and salutary mission of the Divine word to those in whom piety towards God and love of His Son Christ Our Lord do not abound conspicuously. For if the preachers of Catholic doctrine be lacking in these qualities they will never be anything but "a sounding brass and a tinkling cymbal" (1 Cor.

13). and they will always be destitute of that which forms the whole strength and efficacy of evangelical preaching, that is, zeal for the glory of God and the eternal salvation of souls.

"And this piety, so necessary for sacred orators, must shine forth even in their external conduct in order that their lives may not be in opposition to the Christian precepts and usages which they extol in their discourses and that they may not destroy by their actions what they build up by their words. Again, there must be nothing profane in this piety, but rather let it be instinct with that gravity which reveals them as "the ministers of Christ and the dispensers of the Divine mysteries" (1 Cor. 4. 1). For otherwise, as the Angelic Doctor well says, "if the doctrine is good and the preacher bad, the latter is an occasion of blasphemy against the doctrine of God." (Comm. in Mat. V.).

"But piety and the other Christian virtues must have knowledge as their inseparable companion, since it is obvious, and clearly proved by long experience, that the word cannot be suitably and fruitfully preached by men destitute of knowledge, especially sacred knowledge, who, trusting to a certain natural fluency, rashly enter the pulpit and almost without any preparation. Such as they beat the air, and, all unconsciously, expose the word of God to derision and contempt, and put themselves on a level with those of whom the Divine words were spoken: "Because thou hast rejected knowledge, I will reject thee, that thou shalt not do the office of priesthood to me." (Os. 4. 6).

2. "Wherefore Bishops and Superiors of Religious Orders must not entrust the ministry of the Divine word to any priest who has not proved himself to be suffi-

ciently endowed with piety and knowledge. They are to take great care, too, that only subjects worthy of sacred eloquence be treated in the pulpit. These have been indicated by Our Lord when He said: "Preach the gospel." "Teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you." On these words St. Thomas aptly comments: "Preachers ought to enlighten in faith, direct in works, point out what is to be avoided, and warn and exhort men in their sermons to truth and goodness." And the Council of Trent adds: "Making known to them the vices they have to avoid and the virtues they have to cultivate that they may escape eternal damnation and obtain heavenly glory" (Sess. 5, cap 2. De Reform.); in development of which Pius IX of happy memory has written: "Preaching not themselves but Christ crucified; let them, then, announce to the people, clearly and simply, with grave and persuasive eloquence, and according to the doctrine of the Catholic Church and of the Fathers, the dogmas and precepts of our most holy religion; let them carefully explain to the people the special duties of each, turn them from vice and arouse them to piety, so that the faithful, healthily strengthened by the word of God, may abandon vice, practise virtue, and thus be enabled to avoid eternal punishment and win the glory of heaven."

"From all this it will be clear that the proper subjects for preaching are the Apostles' Creed, the Ten Commandments, the precepts of the Church, the Sacraments, the virtues and vices, the duties of one's state of life, the four last things, and other eternal truths of the same kind.

3. "But to-day the ministers of the Divine word only too often pay but small attention to this rich and impor-

tant mine of subjects; they neglect it and almost reject it as something useless and antiquated. Knowing well as they do, that the topics We have just enumerated are little calculated to win popular applause, for which they are so eager, and (seeking their own interests and not those of Jesus Christ"), they thrust aside these topics even during Lent and the other solemn seasons of the year. And changing names as well as things they substitute for the time-honored sermon, a certain new and less rightly understood kind of preaching which they call "a conference;" far better adapted to flatter intellect and thought than to move the will and reform conduct. They do not reflect that while moral instructions are useful for all, conferences are so only for a few, and that even these few, if the orator occupied himself more with their conduct by frequently inculcating chastity, humility of heart, obedience to the authority of the Church, would thus be freed from their prejudices against the faith and receive the light of truth with better dispositions. For if there are many, especially in Catholic countries who have false ideas regarding religion, the fact is to be attributed to the unchecked passions of the heart rather than to aberration of the mind, according to the Divine sentence: "From the heart come forth evil thoughts . . . blasphemies." Thus St. Augustine referring to the words of the Psalmist: "The fool hath said in his heart: There is no God" says "It is the heart not the mind that speaks here" (Psalm 13. 1).

4. "This does not imply, however, that such discourses are to be absolutely condemned, for when they are well made they may often prove very useful and even necessary to refute errors by which religion is assailed. But it is necessary to banish absolutely from the pulpit that ela-

borate style of address which concerns theory more than practice, which is more concerned with the State than with religion, and which is more notable for its external show than for the fruit that follows from it. All this elaboration is better suited for commentaries or academic gatherings but is not in keeping with the majesty of the house of God. As regards lectures or conferences which aim at the defense of religion against attack, though necessary in certain cases, they are not within the capacity of all but only of the best equipped; and even the best speakers should take great care because it is not proper to hold these conferences, except when time and place and the condition of the hearers render them necessary and there is some hope of their doing good—and this, it will be clear to all, is a point which must be left to the legitimate verdict of the Ordinary. In these discourses, too, the power of conviction should be based rather on sacred doctrine than on the words of human wisdom, and the exposition should be made with force and clearness, so that error may not make a deeper impression than truth on the minds of the hearers, and objections be not stronger than the answers given to them. But above all things care must be taken that the frequency of such discourses shall not lower the standing of moral instructions and cause them to be neglected, as if they were of a lower order and to be less esteemed than a controversial method of speaking and therefore to be left to the common run of preachers and hearers; because, on the contrary, moral instructions are absolutely necessary for the majority of the faithful and are not less in dignity than apologetic dissertations, and even the best orators, at least from time to time, and before the best classes of hearers, should devote

themselves with the greatest care to this kind of discourse. If a contrary practice is followed the faithful are forever being obliged to listen to sermons about errors from which most of them are immune, and never about their particular faults and vices.

5. "But if there is fault to be found with the choice of subject, greater fault is to be found with the style and form of the sermons preached. St. Thomas well teaches that to be really "the light of the world," the preacher of the Divine word must possess three things: first, stability, so that he may not wander away from the truth; second, clearness, so that he may not teach it obscurely; third, a useful aim so that he may seek God's glory and not his own."

"Too often the style of contemporary eloquence is not only at variance with that evangelical clearness and simplicity which it should possess, but is mostly made up of clashing words and recondite thoughts quite beyond the grasp of the average hearer. This is deplorable and to be lamented in the words of the Prophet: "The little ones asked for bread and there was no one to break it for them" (Jerem. 4. 4). But even more lamentable still is the fact that so many sermons are destitute of the religious spirit, the atmosphere of Christian piety, that Divine power and virtue of the Holy Spirit speaking within and moving gently to what is right—a power and virtue, which should always be associated with the preacher, according to the words of the Apostle: "My speech, and my preaching, was not in the persuasive words of human wisdom, but in the showing forth the spirit and power."

"But those who place their reliance on the persuasive words of human wisdom rarely if ever have recourse to

divine utterances and to the Sacred Scriptures, that contain those living waters which are the most fruitful and abundant matter for sacred preaching, as His Holiness Leo XIII eloquently explained recently in these grave words: "Herein is to be found the proper and special virtue of the Scriptures, from the Divine breath of the Holy Spirit which confers authority on the preacher, endows him with apostolic liberty of speech, and inspires him with forceful and triumphant eloquence. Such a speaker reproduces the spirit and force of the Divine word, his preaching *is not in word only, but in power also, and in the Holy Ghost and in much fulness* (De Doctrina Christiana: Ch. IV, 6. 7). Hence it must be said that inconsistent and thoughtless is the conduct of those who deliver addresses on religion, and announce the Divine commandments, in the mere words of human science and prudence, instead of availing themselves of the only means that are divine. Their language, lacking the fire of the word of God, for all that it dazzles the eyes of men, necessarily languishes and grows cold, possessing nothing of that divine virtue which shines forth in the divine word: "The word of God is living and effectual and more piercing than any two-edged sword, and reaching unto the division of the soul and the spirit." Thinking men must recognize that there is in the Sacred Writings an eloquence truly wonderful and varied and worthy of the great things it expresses. Augustine understood this and expatiated on it with skill; and experience shows that the greatest sacred orators, and they have recognized it themselves, owe their reputation to their assiduous use and pious meditation of the Bible (Encyc. Letter, Nov. 18, 1893).

"The Bible is, therefore, the chief source of sacred eloquence. But preachers eager after new models instead of going to the *living source* turn deplorably to the *broken cisterns of human wisdom*, and neglecting the divinely inspired doctrine of the Fathers of the Church and the Councils, lose themselves entirely in quoting the names and phrases of modern and still living profane writers—phrases which very often give rise to very dangerous interpretations or misunderstandings.

"They offend again by speaking of religion as if they wished to measure everything according to the standard of the goods and advantages of this ephemeral life, with hardly any reference to a future and eternal life; by dilating on the fruits which the Christian religion has brought to human society, but omitting to dwell on the duties which it imposes; by exalting the charity of Christ the Saviour, but without speaking of His justice. Hence the small fruit derived from such preaching, from which the sinner rises with the impression that he can, without changing his conduct, be a Christian merely by saying: *I believe in Jesus Christ*. But what care they for the fruits of their preaching—it is not of these they are thinking. Their one great care is to flatter their hearers by tickling their ears. It is enough for them that the churches are full, even if the hearts of the people in them are empty. Hence they never make any mention of the remission of sins, of the four last things, and other matters of the gravest moment; their whole aim is to please and to win applause by a profane eloquence better fitted for the hustings than for those engaged in the ministry of the word. Against such as these St. Jerome writes: "When you teach in the Church, let the people be aroused not to applause but to repentance; let the

tears of your hearers be your praise." Hence it happens that these sermons, both within and without the precincts of the church, suggest the actor rather than the preacher and lose all efficacy and all semblance of holiness; hence, too, the ears of the people and even of many of the clergy no longer find the pleasure which the Divine word would give; hence, a source of scandal for the good, little or no profit for the erring, who even when they crowd to hear fine language, drawn especially by big words about human progress, patriotism, recent discoveries of science, a hundred times repeated, punctuate the periods of the orator with prolonged applause, but leave the temple no better than they entered it, like those *who admired, but were not converted* (St. Aug., Mat. ch. 19. 25.)

"This Sacred Congregation, therefore, wishing, by order of the Holy Father, to check all these grave abuses, calls upon all the Bishops and Superiors General of Religious Orders and ecclesiastical institutes to employ all their apostolic zeal and energy to extirpate them. Mindful of what is prescribed by the Holy Council of Trent, that 'they are bound to select men suitable for this office of preaching,' let them perform this duty with the utmost zeal. (Sess. V, Ch. 2, De Reform.). In the case of priests of their own dioceses the Ordinaries must not admit them to this office until they have received a certificate *of good life, knowledge and conduct*, that is until their fitness has been tested by an examination or in some other way. And in the case of priests from other dioceses, they must not allow them in the pulpit, especially on the principal solemnities, until they receive from their Ordinary or Religious

Superior a written attestation of their good conduct and of a sufficient preparation.

“The Superiors of all Religious Orders, Societies, and Congregations, must not admit to the office of preaching, still less recommend to the Ordinaries, any of their subjects until they have assured themselves, as is proper, of the upright life and suitable preparation for sacred oratory of the candidates. And if after having given letters of recommendation to a preacher they find that his sermons are not in harmony with the directions given in this letter they must at once call him to a sense of his duty, and if he refuse to obey they must interdict him from the pulpit, even using, when necessary, the canonical penalties which the circumstances may require.”

If We have thought it necessary to repeat and reproduce these prescriptions, ordering them to be religiously observed, the reason is that We are forced to it by the gravity of an evil which is increasing every day, and which it would be extremely dangerous not to arrest immediately. For we have not now, as in the beginning, to deal with opponents who present themselves in sheep's clothing, but with open and declared enemies—and, in addition, enemies in the household, who in alliance with the chief enemies of the Church are aiming at the ruin of the Faith. These are men whose audacity rises up each day against the wisdom which comes from heaven, who arrogate to themselves the right to amend that heaven-sent wisdom as though it were corrupted, to rejuvenate it as though it were age-worn, to enlarge it and adapt it to the spirit, progress and interests of the times, as if it were inimical to the good of society, and not directed against

the shallow fickleness of a few. Against these attacks on the teaching of the gospel and the tradition of the Church, those who have received the sacred deposit of the faith can never offer too vigilant and strenuous an opposition.

As to the admonitions and prescriptions which, with certain knowledge, We have laid down in the present *Motu proprio*, We will and ordain that they be religiously observed, both by all the Ordinaries of the whole Catholic Church and by the Superiors General of the Regular Orders and ecclesiastical institutes, and that they be efficaciously applied, all things to the contrary notwithstanding.

Given at Rome at St. Peter's, September 1, 1910, in the eighth year of Our Pontificate.

PIUS X, POPE.

Removal of Parish Priests

The following is the Decree of the Sacred Consistorial Congregation on the administrative removal of parish priests from their office and benefice:

The Church has ever taken the greatest care to set over the Christian people, to provide for the care of their souls, priests distinguished for good life and capable of discharging their duties with fruit.

But although it has been generally prescribed that these rectors are to remain permanently in their office so that they may more energetically undertake what they believe to be useful or necessary for their parishes, without the fear of being removed by the Bishop at his pleasure, still, since this stability has been established for the good of the faithful, it has been wisely ordained that the quality of permanence cannot be insisted upon to their detriment.

Wherefore, according to the constant and most ancient practice of the Church, when any wicked man destroys rather than builds up the flock entrusted to him he must, as far as is lawful, be tried for his crime and deprived of his benefice, that is, removed from his parochial charge. And when by virtue of the canon law there is no question of a criminal trial and of penal deprivation, but a parish priest for one reason or another, even when he is not in fault, either does not or cannot exercise a fruitful ministry in his parish, or when his presence in it becomes hurtful, other means are in existence for providing for the salvation of souls. Chief among these is what is commonly known as the economic or disciplinary removal of the parish priest, which is effected not by judicial formal-

ties but administratively, and which does not aim at the punishment of the parish priest but at the welfare of the faithful. For the welfare of the people is the supreme law, and the ministry of the parish priest was instituted in the Church not for the sake of him to whom it is committed, but for the benefit of those for whom it is conferred.

But as the canonical laws regulating this kind of removal do not seem to be altogether clear and certain, the Board of Consultors and Most Eminent Fathers appointed to draw up the code of ecclesiastical law made a special and detailed study of the matter, and, after comparing views, have decided to lay down certain more definite principles regulating this important branch of ecclesiastical discipline. When Our Most Holy Lord Pope Pius X saw and approved the result of this study, he decided to have the opinion also of this Sacred Consistorial Congregation in order that a matter of such moment might be settled with more circumspection, and this opinion having been received and approved, he ordered, in order that the Church might without delay avail itself of the advantage of this new discipline, that a decree be issued by this S. Congregation promulgating the new rules laid down for the administrative removal of a parish priest from his office or benefice, which should constitute the canonical law for the universal Church to be duly and scrupulously observed by all concerned.

These rules are contained in the following canons:

I.—ON THE CAUSES REQUIRED FOR REMOVAL.

CANON I.—The causes on account of which a parish priest may be removed administratively are these :

1. Insanity, from which, in the judgment of experts, it does not seem that he can recover perfectly and without danger of relapse; or on account of which, even should he recover, the standing and authority of the parish priest in the eyes of the people has suffered such a loss that it is deemed harmful to retain him in office.

2. Such unfitness and ignorance as render the rector of a parish incapable of performing his sacred functions.

3. Deafness, blindness, and any other infirmity of soul or body which unfits a priest either permanently or for a prolonged period of time for the functions necessary for the care of souls, unless when a suitable remedy for this drawback can be supplied by means of a coadjutor or vicar.

4. The hatred of the people, although unjust and not universal, provided it be of such kind as to hinder the useful ministry of the parish priest and one foresees with good reason that it will not soon cease.

5. The loss of reputation in the eyes of upright and serious people, whether this is caused by the parish priest's improper or suspected manner of life, or by any other failing, or again by reason of some former crime committed by him, which has recently come to light, and can no longer be punished on account of prescription; or by the act and fault of members of the household and the relatives with whom the parish priest lives, unless the good name of the parish priest can be sufficiently cared for by the departure of these persons.

6. A crime which, although at present unknown, may in the prudent judgment of the Ordinary soon become public to the great scandal of the people.

7. The maladministration of the temporalities to the serious loss of the Church or the benefice; whenever a remedy cannot be provided for this evil by taking away

the administration from the parish priest or otherwise, and the parish priest in other respects exercises usefully his spiritual ministry.

8. Neglect of parochial duties, persisting after one or two admonitions and in a matter of grave moment, as in the administration of the Sacraments, the necessary assistance of the sick, the explanation of the catechism and Gospel, or the observance of the law of residence.

9. Disobedience to the precepts of the Ordinary after one or two admonitions and in a matter of grave moment, such as avoiding familiarity with any person or family, providing for the proper custody and cleanliness of the house of God, the methods employed in exacting parochial taxes and the like.

The admonition referred to in the last two numbers, to be peremptory and a warning of proximate removal, must be made by the Ordinary not simply in paternal fashion, by word of mouth or unknown to any, but in such a way that there be legitimate evidence of it in the acts of the Curia.

II.—METHOD OF PROCEDURE IN GENERAL.

CANON 2.—1. The method of proceeding to administrative removal is this: First of all the parish priest is to be invited to give his resignation; if he refuses, let steps be taken for the decree of removal, if he enters a demurrer against the decree of removal, let the Ordinary proceed to a review of the case and the confirmation of the preceding decree.

2. At this stage of the process the statutes given below are to be observed, and if they be violated the removal becomes substantially null and void.

III.—PERSONS REQUIRED FOR DECREERING REMOVAL.

CANON 3.—1. In requesting the parish priest to resign, and in issuing the decree of removal, the Ordinary to act legitimately cannot proceed alone; but must associate with himself two of the examiners, concerning whom the Sacred Synod of Trent has pronounced in Ch. XVIII. sess. XXIV., *de reform.*, and obtain their consent to all the acts for which this consent is expressly required, and ask their advice in the others.

2. In the review of the decree of removal, when this becomes necessary, he shall take as consultors two parish priests, and obtain their consent or advice, in the same way as has been said of the examiners in the preceding section.

CANON 4.—In the selection of examiners and parish priest as consultors the following law shall henceforth be everywhere observed:

1. If a synod be held, therein according to the received rules there shall be elected as many as the Ordinary in his prudent judgment shall consider necessary.

2. In the place of examiners and parish priest consultors who die between one synod and another, or who cease to hold office for any other reason, the Ordinary shall substitute other prosynodal examiners and consultors with the consent of the Cathedral Chapter, and when this does not exist with the consent of the Diocesan Consultors.

3. This rule is to be observed also in selecting examiners and parish priest consultors when a synod is not held.

4. The examiners and consultors elected in the synod

or out of it cease to hold office five years after their nomination, or even before if another synod is held. They may, however, *servatis de jure servandis*, be re-elected.

5. They cannot be removed by the Ordinary during the term of five years, unless for grave cause and with the consent of the Cathedral Chapter or of the Diocesan Consultors.

CANON 5.—1. The examiners and parish priest consultors to be chosen by the Ordinary in a question of removal shall not be any two of them, but the two seniors by election, and in case of parity of election the two seniors in the priesthood, and when this distinction does not exist the seniors by age.

2. Those among them who are evidently open to suspicion for a cause recognized in law may be excluded by the Ordinary before he undertakes the treatment of the case. For the same reason the parish priest may object to them when the case first comes up.

3. When one or both of the first two examiners or consultors are hindered or excluded, the third, or third and fourth, shall be taken in the same order as that given above.

CANON 6.—1. Whenever in the canons which follow it is expressly stated that the Ordinary is to proceed with the consent of the examiners or consultors, he shall settle the matter by secret voting, and the approved sentence shall be that which has at least two votes in its favor.

2. But whenever the Ordinary can proceed with the advice of the examiners or consultors, it is sufficient that he hear what they have to say, and he is under no obligation to adopt their opinion even though they agree with each other.

3. In both cases a written report shall be made on the results of the scrutiny and is to be signed by all.

CANON 7.—1. The examiners and consultors must under grave obligation, on their oath, observe official secrecy concerning everything they come to know by reason of their office, and especially concerning secret documents, the discussions that they have had in council, the number of ballots, and the reason therefor.

2. Should they do the contrary, they are not only to be removed from the office of examiners and consultors, but may be subjected by the Ordinary according to the gravity of the offence, and *servatis servandis* to some other suitable punishment; and they are moreover bound to pay any damages that may result from their conduct.

IV.—THE REQUEST TO RESIGN.

CANON 8.—Whenever, therefore, in the prudent judgment of the Ordinary it appears that a parish priest is affected by any of the causes enumerated above in Canon I, the Ordinary himself shall convoke the two examiners appointed by law, make everything known to them, discuss with them the truth and the gravity of the case, so that a decision may be reached as to whether or not there is reason formally to request the parish priest to resign.

CANON 9.—1. This formal request is always to be made before proceeding to the decree of removal, unless in the case of insanity, or when it is not possible, as, for instance, if the parish priest is in hiding.

2. The request shall be issued with the consent of the examiners.

CANON 10.—1. The request shall generally be made in writing. Sometimes, however, when it seems to be

safer and quicker, it may be made verbally by the Ordinary himself, or by his delegate, in the presence of another priest, who shall serve as actuary and draw up a document of the request which shall be kept in the files of the Curia.

2. Together with the request to resign, the parish priest must be informed in writing or in words, as above, of the causes or reason why the request is made, the proofs on which this reason is based, observing however the necessary precautions in Canon 2, and he must be informed that the votes of the examiners have been asked and obtained.

3. If the case be one regarding a hidden crime, and the request to resign is made in writing, only some general cause is to be stated; but the specific reason with the proofs by which the truth of the crime is established is to be explained by the Ordinary in words only, in the presence of one of the examiners who shall fill the office of actuary, and with the precautions as above.

4. Finally whether the request be made in writing or orally the parish priest shall be admonished that unless within ten days from the receipt of the request he shall present his resignation or prove by solid arguments that the reasons alleged for his removal are false a decree of removal shall be in order.

CANON 11.—1. In communicating the proofs establishing the truth of the charge for which the resignation is to be obtained, care must be taken lest the names of the petitioners or witnesses be made known, if they have asked for secrecy, or, even when they have not asked for secrecy, if the circumstances render it likely that they may easily be exposed to annoyance.

2. So, too, reports and proofs which cannot be made

public without the risk of creating scandal, quarrels or disputes, must not be given out in writing; and not even in words, unless full precaution be taken to avoid the aforesaid inconveniences.

CANON 12.—It is lawful for the parish priest, after he has received the request with a specified period for its acceptance, to ask a delay in order to deliberate or to prepare his defence. This the Ordinary, with the consent of the examiners and provided it does not result in harm to souls, may grant for a just reason for another period of ten or twenty days.

CANON 13.—1. If the parish priest consents to yield to the request made to him and to give up his parish, he may tender his resignation even on certain conditions, provided these conditions legitimately can be and are accepted by the Ordinary.

2. It is lawful for the resigning parish priest to allege instead of the cause invoked by the Ordinary one less mortifying or serious for himself, provided it be a true and proper one, such as in order to yield to the wishes of the Ordinary.

3. The resignation having followed and having been accepted by the Ordinary, the Ordinary is to declare the benefice or office vacant through resignation.

V.—THE DECREE OF REMOVAL.

CANON 14.—1. If the parish priest within the appointed time neither tenders his resignation, nor asks for delay, nor impugns the causes alleged for his removal, the Ordinary, after ascertaining that the request to resign, properly made, has become known to the parish priest and that the latter has not been legitimately hindered from replying

to it, is to proceed to the decree of removal, observing the rules which are laid down in the following canons.

2. But if the two conditions above set forth are not verified, the Ordinary is to make timely provision either repeating the request to resign to the parish priest, or prolonging for him the period within which he must reply.

CANON 15.—1. If the parish priest wishes to impugn the causes alleged for decreeing his removal, he must within the appointed time set forth his defence in writing, the allegations contained therein being directed solely to the end of impugning and overthrowing the cause on account of which the resignation is demanded.

2. He may propose two or three witnesses to prove any fact or assertion affecting his case, and demand to have them examined.

3. It is, however, for the Ordinary, with the consent of the examiners to admit and examine them or some of them, if they are suitable witnesses and their examination seems to be necessary; or to exclude them, if the cause of removal is clear and the examination of witnesses appears useless and the petition is made in order to cause delay.

4. If after the allegations have been presented a doubt arises that is to be solved in order to proceed safely, it shall be for the Ordinary with the advice of the examiners, even when the parish priest does not ask for it, to interrogate such witnesses as it may seem necessary to call, and if need be the parish priest himself.

CANON 16.—1. In the examination of witnesses called either *ex officio* or at the petition of the parish priest, only those methods are to be observed which are necessary to bring out the truth, to the exclusion of all judicial formalities and the cross-examination of the witnesses.

2. The same rule is to be observed in the interrogation of the parish priest, if this takes place.

CANON 17.—1. If the parish priest is present and the documents and the names of the witnesses are made known to him, it shall be for him, if he is able and willing, to raise objections to the allegations that are made.

2. But when according to the tenor of Canon 9 he cannot be requested to assert his rights, and when according to the tenor of Canon 11 the names of the witnesses and some documents cannot be made known to him, the Ordinary himself shall use all care and industry or, in other words, use every endeavor to ensure that a just decision be reached concerning the value of the documents and the trustworthiness of the witnesses.

CANON 18.—1. It is unlawful for the parish priest, in order to prevent his resignation and removal, to get up demonstrations, to promote public petitions in his favor, to stir up the people by speeches or writings, and to do other things which may hinder the legitimate exercise of ecclesiastical discipline; should he do so let him be punished in proportion to the gravity of his offence, according to the prudent judgment of the Ordinary.

2. Moreover as the matter concerns the good of souls and is to be settled in an administrative way, the parish priest, unless legitimately hindered, must himself be present, and not be represented by others. But if he be hindered he may appoint as his attorney some upright priest friendly to him and accepted by the Ordinary.

CANON 19.—1. All the measures concerning the just defence of the parish priest having been taken, the decree of removal is to be discussed by the Ordinary with the examiners, and the matter is to be decided by secret ballot according to the prescriptions in Canon 6.

2. But nobody shall give his vote in favor of re-

removal unless he has become certain that the cause alleged against the parish priest really exists and comes under the law.

CANON 20.—1. If the decision is for removal a decree shall be issued by the Ordinary, setting forth in a general way that the parish priest is removed for the good of souls. But the real and special cause of removal may be expressed according to the prudent judgment of the Ordinary provided it be expedient and becoming. Mention is always to be made, however, that the parish priest has been requested to resign, that his defence has been heard, and that the votes of the examiners have been sought and obtained.

2. The decree is to be drawn up against the priest; but it must not be promulgated until after the period allowed for an appeal.

CANON 21.—If the decision be not for removal the parish priest is to be informed thereof. But the Ordinary must not omit to add such admonitions, salutary advice, and precepts as may seem to be opportune and necessary in the circumstances; and of these the utmost account is to be taken if the question of the removal of the priest comes up again.

VI.—THE REVIEW OF THE ACTS.

CANON 22.—1. Against the decree of removal appeal is allowed only to the Ordinary himself for the review of the acts before a new Council consisting of the Ordinary and two parish priests consultors according to Section 2, Canon 3.

2. The appeal is to be made within ten days from the drawing up of the decree; and there is no redress after

the lapse of this period, unless the parish priest prove that he has been unavoidably hindered; concerning which the Ordinary must investigate with the examiners, whose consent is required.

CANON 23.—When an appeal has been made, ten days more are given to the parish priest in order to bring forward fresh allegations, the same rules being observed as those laid down above for the discussion before the examiners, saving the disposition contained in Section 4 of the following canon.

CANON 24.—1. The consultors in consultation with the Ordinary have to investigate two things only; whether in the preceding acts defects of form have crept in which affect the matter substantially, and whether the reason adduced for the removal be without foundation.

2. To this end they must examine and weigh all the previous acts and allegations.

3. They may also *ex officio*, in order to throw full light upon those two points of discussion, investigate and interrogate concerning things which they think should be known, hearing also new witnesses if necessary.

4. But the parish priest has no right to demand a summons and examination of new witnesses, nor further delays in order to vindicate himself.

CANON 25.—1. The admission or rejection of the appeal is to be decided by majority of votes.

2. Against the decision of this Council further appeal shall not be granted.

VII.—PROVISION FOR THE PERSON REMOVED.

CANON 26.—1. For a priest who resigns in compliance with the request made to him, or who is removed adminis-

tratively from his parish, the Ordinary must do his best to make provision, either by transferring him to another parish or by assigning some ecclesiastical office to him, or by granting him a pension, according to the nature of the case and as far as circumstances permit.

2. In making this provision the Ordinary must not omit to consult the examiners or the parish priest consultors if the case has reached them.

CANON 27.—1. The Ordinary is not to appoint the priest to a parish unless he is worthy and capable of managing it; to such priest he may grant a parish of equal, inferior, or even superior value, as equity and prudence may seem to require.

2. If a pension be granted the Ordinary shall observe the conditions required by law.

3. In making provision, greater favor is to be shown, under the same circumstances, to the priest who resigns than to one who is removed.

CANON 28.—1. The Ordinary may reserve the matter of making provision for a priest until after the case of his removal has been completed, and as a rule this matter of provision is to be settled as quickly as possible.

2. But he may also in the request to resign or in a separate letter, while the question of removal is under consideration, or in the decree itself of removal, propose and indicate this provision, if he deem it expedient.

3. In any case the question of the provision to be made for the priest for the future must not be mixed up with the pending question of his removal from the parish; nor hinder nor delay this if the good of souls require that it be expedited.

CANON 29.—1. The priest who has resigned or who has been removed from his benefice or office must as soon

as possible leave the parish house free and duly hand over to its administrator all things relating to the parish. And should he unlawfully introduce delays in this, he may be compelled thereto by ecclesiastical penalties.

2. In the case of a sick priest the Ordinary may allow him the use, even the exclusive use, when necessary, of the parish house, until he can, in the prudent judgment of the Ordinary, be conveniently transferred elsewhere. Meanwhile the new rector of the parish is to provide for himself another temporary residence in the parish.

VIII.—THOSE SUBJECT TO THIS LAW.

CANON 30.—The foregoing rules are not meant to apply when a parish is entrusted to the care of a priest as temporary administrator or vicar for a time, on account of the infirmity of the parish priest, or the vacancy of the benefice or any other similar reason, but are laid down to be applied exactly to all who obtain a parish, under any title whatever, as its proper rectors, whether they are called perpetual vicars, or “desservants” or by any other name.

CANON 31.—If a parish priest is legally prosecuted for crime, his administrative removal during the criminal trial, whether before the ecclesiastical or civil authority, is not to be discussed, but the result of the trial must be awaited.

2. Meanwhile, however, if there is question of an offence which produces *infamia facti*, the Ordinary may forbid the parish priest to exercise the care of souls and administer the temporalities of the benefice; these offices

he is to commit to a vicar, or other person selected by himself, with a suitable provision from the fruits of the benefice.

3. On the conclusion of the criminal trial the restoration of the parish priest or his administrative removal or canonical deprivation is to be dealt with, as justice may require and the circumstances permit.

CANON 32.—As to the designation "Ordinary," for all matters expressed under this title, the Vicar-General is not included, unless commissioned by a special mandate for the purpose.

To provide for the prompt execution of what is contained in this decree Our Most Holy Lord commands that the Ordinaries, all and several, as soon as possible, appoint a number of parish priest consultors according to the prescriptions of Canon 4. As regards the examiners, if these are in the diocese, whether elected in Synod or out of Synod, he decrees that, with the advice of the Cathedral chapter or Diocesan Consultors, the Ordinaries either confirm them in office (with the condition, however, that they surrender their office after five years) or proceed to a new election of examiners, observing the rule contained in Canon 4, as prudence and circumstances may suggest. When there are no examiners in a diocese, they are to proceed without delay to the election of them, observing the foregoing statutes.

These presents to be valid, all things whatsoever to the contrary notwithstanding.

Given at Rome, August 20, 1910.

C. CARD. DE LAI, *Secretarius*.

SCIPIO TECCHI, *Adessor*.

[L. + S.]

The Revolution in Portugal

On February 1st, 1908, nearly three years ago, the world was startled with the news that had come from Lisbon. King Carlos, with his wife and two sons, were driving through the streets of their capital when a band of assassins suddenly attacked them. They slew the King and the heir to the throne, and severely wounded the young Prince Manoel. The boy recovered, and, with the vivid image of this fearful tragedy stamped for ever on his memory, was called to ascend his father's precarious throne. He was a mere boy of eighteen, but his good mother had brought him up well, and he manifested a true desire to devote his life to the welfare of his people. He had, too, engaging manners of the sort which, when found in a Sovereign, evoke loyalty, and won for him universal favor when he visited this country. His misfortune, however, was that there were none whom he could call to his councils and entrust with the offices of government, with any assurance that they would stand by him loyally. For some time past his father had been at the mercy of the "rotativists," as they were called, that is, a class of politicians who cared nothing about the welfare of the country, and used their terms of office merely as opportunities for self-enrichment by dishonest practices, securing themselves from punishment by an understanding with their political adversaries to take turns with them in the tenure of office. It was, in fact, by his father's well-meant but rash endeavor to rid the country of this incubus, by a temporary suspension of the Constitution, that he gave the handle to the group of republicans who

had long been waiting for an opportunity to overturn the monarchy, and were not too particular about the means they employed. It was undoubtedly this last-named party which engineered the assassinations, as was apparent by the rejoicings with which they welcomed them when they had taken place, not desisting even from the indecency of glorifying the memory of the chief assassin after his suicide, strewing flowers on his grave, offering his portrait for sale in the shop-windows, competing for the honor of adopting his orphaned children. But whilst the republicans were thus engaged in venerating the memory of their precious martyrs, the corrupt politicians from among whom the poor young King was compelled to choose his advisers thought only of using their regained facilities for public plunder, and did not even trouble to bring the still-surviving regicides to justice—indeed, were suspected of a secret sympathy for them.

It was into this seething cauldron of intrigue and passion that Dom Manoel found himself cast on his premature emergence from the school-room, nor could there have been much doubt for those who could gauge the situation but that further and graver calamities were in store for him and his people. Whilst the classes which furnished him with his Ministers were neglecting their duties altogether, the class whence came his father's murderers were busily engaged in preparing a revolution, in doing which it is due to them to acknowledge that they showed considerable skill and energy. For a long time previously they had been preparing the ground by a newspaper campaign against the monarchy and the Church, a campaign for which the policy of the Court, which had been that of "appeasement," as it was called, had given it perfect liberty. Nearly all the Lisbon papers were re-

publican, and four particularly—*O Seculo*, *O Mundo*, *A Lucta*, and *Vanguardia*—took the lead by the violence of their language and the grossness of their slanders. Thanks to the enslavement of the Church to the State, which has hampered the action of the former in every way possible, the population of Lisbon has for long been irreligious, and, never reading a Catholic paper, has been an easy victim to all those impossible stories against the clergy and Religious which have been disseminated broadcast, and differ only from the slanders of our own ultra-Protestant organs in that they were directed openly and not merely cryptically against religion of all kind. When they conceived themselves able to count on the co-operation of the disorderly classes, they organized their adherents and prepared their plans. They tore up the railways and broke down the bridges, so as to isolate the city and control the news sent to the provincial or foreign papers. They collected, with the aid of their fellow-Masons in Paris and elsewhere, an ample supply of funds, to be used in purchasing the services of politicians, soldiers, sailors, mob-leaders, and others. Then they waited the convenient moment for beginning, in the hopes that some chance occurrence might afford them a pretext for arousing the mob. This came to them when Dr. Bombarda, the medical adviser to a lunatic asylum, but also a fanatical republican whom they counted among their leaders, was murdered by a former inmate of the asylum who had been prematurely released. It was easy to represent this as a political crime inspired by the monarchists, and this was done by *O Seculo*, which in excited language called on the mob to "rise and put an end to the monarchical régime which permitted such foul deeds." Then followed the fighting between the republican forces and the royal

troops which caused much loss of life during the interval between Monday night and Wednesday at noon. On Tuesday morning three ships-of-war in the harbor joined the rebels, and bombarded the town and the Necessidades Palace. The royalist troops by general acknowledgment fought bravely, and would have won the day had it not been for the apathy of their officers who had probably been purchased by the rebels. As it was, their courage broke down after some thirty-six hours' fighting, when deeming further resistance hopeless they surrendered, or even went over to the enemy. At the palace King Manoel remained through the bombardment and seems to have shown much courage, only leaving the scene of action on Wednesday evening, and then with reluctance and in deference to the advice of his few remaining supporters. On the same day a Provisional Government was formed with Senhor Braga for its President, and Senhores Machado and da Costa for its leading members, and by them the Republic was proclaimed. At once they drew up a proclamation to the people announcing what had happened and expressing themselves in the fulsome language in which such people delight, and in which the bombastic announcement "that this day puts an end finally to the slavery of this country and the beneficent aspiration of a régime of liberty rises luminous in its virginal essence," and the exhortation to let "this moment be the beginning of an epoch of austere morality and of immaculate justice" have furnished the world with a good test of their intelligence and capacity.

But what administrative form was this system of austere morality and immaculate justice to take? Senhor Costa replying on Friday, Oct. 7th, to a "despatch" from the *Times*, tells us in language of like pomposity:

At a Council held to-night we were able to consider the revolutionary period definitely ended and the era of progressive government and moral regeneration begun.

We intend to develop education and to make sure our national defences, with the aim of putting ourselves in the position of true and serious allies of your great country. We shall develop our Colonies on a basis of self-government. We shall secure complete independence in the Judiciary, and shall establish free and universal suffrage. We shall give all possible stimulus to national economy, and shall establish a real Budgetary equilibrium.

We shall make all essential liberties respected, and shall banish (*chasserons*) all monks and nuns in accordance with our free secular laws. We shall establish methods of social assistance. *We shall decree the separation of Church and State.* . . . The Republic is for all—that is our device.

In the same letter to the *Times*, this gentleman further plumes himself on "the heroic and marvellously correct attitude of the revolutionary forces and on their generosity towards the vanquished." It is an idea for which his party were particularly anxious to gain acceptance. Thus Dr. Machado told the *Times* Correspondent on October 9th that

he did not know which to admire—the heroic stroke, the dash which had made the revolution, or the spirit of toleration, of social brotherhood, by which the victors were animated towards the vanquished. There had been absolutely no reprisals. No sooner was the revolution accomplished than personal safety was ensured, banks and business houses, employers and employed—all realized that, far from having anything to fear from the Republic, they could count upon it to promote their welfare. (*Times*, October 10th.)

We have, however, to remember that the Provisional

Government had established a strict censorship on the despatches of the journalists, and would allow no news to be sent outside save such as gave their own version of the facts. What the character of this censorship was is testified by M. Naudeau in his despatch of October 12th to *Le Journal*, of Paris.

The republican censorship [he writes] is pitiless towards those foreign journalists who have no desire to discharge a purely official function, and prefer to telegraph their personal observations, not the solemn platitudes of the ministerial departments. (*Le Journal*, October 14th.)

And likewise by the *Westminster Gazette's* Correspondent whose letters are published in its issues for October 18 and 19.

'There is a censorship of a worse kind than ever existed under Royalty. If you are willing to wire that the Jesuits are running like rats through all the old sewers and drains in the town (those old sewers are dignified with the name of "underground passages") with bombs and infernal machines for the purpose of blowing us all up, then your telegram will pass. If you cast the faintest doubt on that story you immediately get into difficulties, are subject to delays, are liable to see your despatches mutilated.

These testimonies, to which others to the same effect might be added, suffice to show that accounts emanating from the Provisional Government, or improved by its censors, are narratives colored or fabricated with the object of exhibiting the conduct of the revolutionaries as worthy of all admiration, but that of the monarchists, and especially of the clergy and Religious, as discreditable in every way. Accordingly, if we wish to know what really

did happen, we must look elsewhere, namely, to the accounts sent by the Correspondent of the *Westminster Gazette*, or Mr. Donohue of the *Daily Chronicle*, or Mr. Percival Phillips of the *Daily Express*, who managed, by crossing the frontier or otherwise, to evade the republican censorship.

It was on October 6th, if we rightly understand, that the Religious of both sexes were notified that they must be out of their houses and on the road to exile within twenty-four hours. This surely was not what the most elementary humanity demanded, for it meant death to many and starvation and misery to all. To what extent the victims bestirred themselves to get away we do not know, but for the mass of them departure within so short a time must have been as impossible as it was probably intended to be, and on Friday the 7th, in some places sooner, steps were taken to eject the inmates forcibly. This attack appears to have been directed in the first place against the Jesuit Residence in the Rua de Quelhas, the Convent of the Dorothean Sisters which is contiguous to it, and the Trinac Convent of Franciscan nuns not very far off. As something turns on the character of the Jesuit Residence, it is necessary to say that it is to be distinguished from the great Jesuit College of Campolide, in the suburbs to the north-west. The latter, which was not visited and sacked till the 11th, is a very large building. It has been by far the most important educational establishment in the city, and by far, also, the most renowned for the quality of the education it gave, as may be gathered from the remarkable fact that not only the principal Catholics of the town, but also a good number of the anti-clericals, indeed even at times the very people who were agitating, in the Cortes and out of it, for the expulsion of the

Jesuits sent their children to it. This is the College in describing which the *Times* Correspondent on October 12th gave a very reprehensible license to his imagination.

Search parties [he informed us] disclosed a quaint blending of Inquisitorial mysteries and modern educational and domestic appointments. The dormitories and cubicles were comparable to those of a Rowton House, the salons would have graced a city guild, and the kitchens were equal to those of a modern restaurant. (*Times*, October 13th.)

This, of course, was what was to be expected in a college where several hundred boys and their teachers, and the necessary staff of domestics were residing.

All these were above a maze of subterranean passages, crypts, and *caches*, that would have done credit to the Bastille.

The insinuation conveyed by these words is that underneath the College there exists a labyrinth of dungeons and winding passages, so constructed as to leave no doubt that they were intended to be used as places for imprisonment or concealment, or as tunnels through which, under cover of the darkness, Jesuits and their allies might pass over a wide area to meet their fellow-plotters, deposit explosives, and so on, after the manner which popular legend ascribes to them. The *substratum* of truth to this cruel misrepresentation is declared by Père Torrend, a Frenchman by birth and a well-known biologist, who has been a Professor in the Campolide College for some years. Released on account of his French nationality from the prison into which the Portuguese Fathers have been thrown, he has come to London, and on his authority we can certify these particulars: the Col-

lege of Campolide is built on a slope; the greater part of it, resting on the basalt rock, has no cellars at all. But on the lower part are the following: (1) a large cistern which fills up the quarry whence the stone for the College was taken, over it being a flower garden, and for access to it, as often happens in such cases, is a small dark staircase, covered from above by a trap-door; (2) two sunk wells about fifty yards apart, between which is a small channel by which water may flow or a workman creep for repairs; (3) a staircase leading to a conduit level with the water of the tank; (4) some arches, visible from the outside, which run towards the old quarry (now turned into a cistern), and are used for storing fuel, carts, wood, and so forth; (5) under one of these arches the signs of an old trench which was not known of till two years ago, when it unpleasantly announced its existence by the swarms of mosquitoes it sent forth, and was accordingly blocked up. This is all, and is only what one might expect to find in a building of the sort, whether designed for the use of Jesuits or Protestants. It is strange then that the *Times* Correspondent should have described it as he has, still stranger when he assures us, in the *Times* of October 25th, that his description was based on ocular inspection.

This digression may perhaps throw some light on the strange errors into which some of the correspondents have fallen in their description of the Residence in the Rua de Quelhas. Evidently they have ascribed what they heard of the College of Campolide to the last-named Residence, for the latter has no cellars at all, and is quite a small place, consisting of a church, over which is a guild-room, having on one side a residence for eight Fathers and six lay-Brothers, and on the other a similar small place

for the editorial and other chambers, and the printing press belonging to the *Messenger of the Sacred Heart*, a little spiritual periodical of the kind perfectly well-known in England, which the Fathers of that Residence edit. At the back of the church is the large convent, already mentioned, of the Dorothean Sisters, which, however, is entirely separate from the Jesuit building.

It was given out by the Government that the attack on the Residence in the Rua de Quelhas on the night of Friday, October 7th, was made, not by the troops in obedience to orders received, but by the "people" who had been stirred to indignation by the strange folly of the Fathers residing in it. Though the Revolution was now over, its object having been attained, and the streets had become once more quiet, these Fathers, in what could only have been sheer malice, took to throwing down bombs from their upper windows on to the peaceful passers-by. It is not a very likely story and, as soon as they had time to reflect on it, the correspondents of the English papers set it aside without ceremony as ridiculous. "It is manifestly absurd," says the correspondent of the *Daily News*. (*Daily News*, October 8th.) "The Portuguese Republicans must have had an exceedingly low idea of the level of intelligence and credulity outside Lisbon when they started this story," says the correspondent of the *Westminster Gazette* for October 18th. Still they did start it.

None [says this latter journalist] of the correspondents wired it, I think, though the censor did his best to make them do so. "I don't want these fantastic tales about the blue-jackets firing on the convent," said that gentleman to a friend of mine, a German journalist, "I shall certainly not allow such wires to pass. What I want is the truth. Now, if you tell the truth and say

that the friars threw bombs at the troops, well, I shall let that pass with pleasure."

Moreover, it was the blue-jackets, not the mob, who were guilty of the outrage. "There was not," says this same *Westminster Gazette* Correspondent, "the faintest disposition on the part of the mob to attack the convents. Most of the attacking was done by the soldiers and blue-jackets." All through the night of Friday, the 7th, these valorous blue-jackets bombarded the little Jesuit Residence in the Rua de Quelhas—for little house it is, with eight Fathers and six lay-Brothers for its entire staff. They brought up machine-guns and battered away at the little tower till it was riddled through and through. From time to time the search-light of the *Dom Carlos* lit up the building, and this was the signal for a fresh bout of firing, the whole affair lasting an hour and a half at a time, and being resumed more than once during the night. But there was at no time any reply from within, and when the morning came, and they effected an entrance into the building by bursting open its gates, it was only to find the place entirely empty. They had, in short, in their blind fury, been blazing away at an empty house, the occupants of which had, as the Provisional Government knew well, though they encouraged the false report, been all removed to prison some time before the attack by the sailors began. And here we may say in general that, as might be supposed, but as we also know from the Jesuit Father now in London who was in Lisbon all through those days of terror, not a single shot was fired, or bomb thrown, or means of active defence taken, by the Jesuits all through. But the invaders were not to be stopped by this discovery. They set up the theory that these aggressive Jesuits had

escaped into the sewers (that being so easy a thing to do in a town house). So making this an excuse for a forcible entry into the building, on the pretext that they were looking for the refugees, these blue-jackets, let loose, turned the place into a regular pandemonium. Mr. Percival Phillips, of the *Daily Express* (*Daily Express*, October 10th), in describing it, falls into the error to which we have alluded, by confusing the structure in the Rua de Quelhas with that of the Campolide. He is misled too at this stage of the occurrences by the authorities, who were sedulously circulating the legend that the Jesuits were showering down bombs on their assailants. He is then to this extent untrustworthy; and shows by the manner of his narrative that he is taking what he says on second or third-hand evidence. Still his general impression must be trustworthy, and he gives a vivid account of "scenes" which, to use his own phrase, "recall the worst phases of the French Terror with the drunken revolutionaries dancing and singing the *Marseillaise* on the altars of the ruined churches."

Gangs of "patriots" [he says of the sacking of the Jesuit Residence at Quelhas], armed with rifles, knives, bludgeons, and even immense hammers and pickaxes as weapons of offence, were engaged in sacking convents and hunting fugitive priests through underground passages like rats, encouraged by women who laughed from window balconies or took their chances with the others in the street mob.

A steady, muffled roar came from the building as the exultant mob battered down the doors indiscriminately and sang, wept, and cheered. It was unlike any sound I have ever heard. The balconies and windows of the houses in the Rua de Quelhas and the Rua Machadinho were crowded all day long with spectators, like watching a play.

"Patriots," drunk with wine and Republicanism, clustered on the turret of the lofty tower brandishing knives, axes, and rifles, and ringing the church bells madly. It was like a fantastic nightmare.

I walked through the building unheeded, unnoticed by the mob, save when a soldier or civilian invited me to share the loot. The refectory was strewn with broken bottles, and the floor ran with wine, while thirsty late arrivals searched for more.

The influence of this realization of the philosophy that Republicans do exactly as they like was apparent, even during my stay among the pillagers, for soldiers who went into the institution through curiosity were soon seized with the looting fever and became transformed before our eyes into unreasoning fanatics, showing unmistakably how easily this lust for pillage and revenge may suddenly become epidemic among all the troops unless prompt measures are taken to stamp it out.

A gigantic negro, barefooted and wearing a priest's biretta on his head, and armed with a cavalry sabre and a long butcher's knife, was prising up the side of the altar slab searching for jewelled relics. Two grimy revolutionaries wrapped in gold-cloth copes danced in the choir singing the *Marseillaise*, while another mocked the intoning of the priests. Another gang smashed the high gilt reredos and baldacchino behind the high altar with hammers and axes. A naval petty officer, bloodstained and with a bandaged head, called three pillagers to assist him as he savagely wrenched out the pulpit, hoping to find secret treasure. Life-size statues were thrown down and broken. A sailor handed his rifle to a companion and tried to wrench off the silk curtains of the tabernacle on the high altar.

Republican mottoes were scrawled on the walls in chalk. The organ was ruined. A grimy artilleryman tried to play an accompaniment to a ribald song, and smashed the keys in disgust when he failed.

I ascended to the library on the first floor from the gallery adjoining the church. Here in the general rooms

thousands of books, including many ancient and valuable treatises, were defaced and thrown from the windows to the street mob. I picked up from the floor the fragments of a torn canvas, which had been a beautiful seventeenth century painting of the Virgin, four feet wide. It had been slashed into ribbons, like other paintings, by the swords of the Republicans.

This is sad enough, but Jesuits have chosen their lot, which is to be loyal to the service of our Lord Jesus Christ and His Church and to labor for the sanctification of others; and they have made this choice with the full knowledge that it will draw down upon them obloquy and persecution from those to whom the name of Christ and His Church is an offence. Moreover they are of the sterner sex which must expect hard knocks and blows in the tumults of life. Far more intolerable to hearts that know how to feel is the story of the wrongs inflicted on the poor nuns and their pupils. Of this we have a pathetic account from the Special Correspondent of the *Westminster Gazette*.

From Thursday to Sunday the nuns were brought through the streets in open motor-cars and carriages. These vehicles were filled with armed men, some of them displaying naked swords. The shouts of the crowd and the jeers of the soldiery frightened these unfortunate ladies nearly to death. Some of them wore their religious habits, most of them wore the national mantilla, probably many of them had never been outside the convent since they were little girls. No small number of these ladies were of noble birth and of refined appearance. Some of them were very young, some of them mere novices. To entrust them to the care of drunken—or, at least, very excited—blue-jackets, to drive them through howling mobs, was a cruel and an unmanly thing to do. I have since discussed the matter with foreigners, all of them

Atheists save one, who is a Lutheran, and they cannot find words strong enough to express their contempt and loathing for the "Dagos," who have treated delicate and helpless women in this disgraceful manner.

If only grown-up women were concerned, the matter would not be quite so bad. But the girls and children who had been boarding in the convent schools, the orphans and the poor whom the nuns had been taking care of, were similarly escorted to the arsenal or to the railway station. I saw one child carrying in her hand a doll. Before her swaggered a truculent bully with an unsheathed sword. Around her surged a villanous-looking gang of sailors and civilians. If these men had been the bravest of the brave, I could not have concealed my disgust.

Even if it had been necessary to remove the nuns to some central place of safety, why send them to the arsenal? Could they not all have been collected in some one large convent or other building on the outskirts of the city? If the Republican Government wished to protect them from the mob, why did it expose them to the jeers of the mob by taking them through the very heart of the city?

In the arsenal, which is also a naval barracks, the nuns were herded together in one large room. This was also, I think, a quite unnecessary inconvenience and indignity. When they had been herded together in this room to the number of several hundreds, Senhor Affonso Costa, the Minister of Justice, descended on them in all his glory. . . . Worse remains to be told, however. The Republican and atheistical newspapers, whose editors now rule Portugal, printed details of alleged immorality on the part of the nuns, details so revolting, so exaggerated, and so contradictory that they overshot the mark and deceived nobody.

On Saturday last I entered the pillaged convent of Quelhas, and certainly the sight was most pitiable. The place had been a boarding school for poor girls. Their little bed-rooms had been turned topsy-turvy, their school-books, their sewing and embroidery, their half-finished

socks, their little toys, their linen, their humble under-clothing, hats, and boots, lay strewn on the floor. Few of the statues and religious emblems had been injured, and evidently the heroic and *valoroso* looters of the place had been out after loot alone. The open drawers, the smashed cupboards, the broken writing-desks, spoke only of a search for hard cash and for gold ornaments. On the occasion of my visit the house was filled with a civil and military rabble, still hunting for loot. The soldiers and blue-jackets were armed, of course; some of the civilians flourished long, naked daggers in a manner that suggested drink or insanity.

How a Government worthy of the name could allow its regular troops to take part in such an orgie is incredible.

We understand well enough that the real motive for all this proscription of the Religious is the hatred of religion, of all religion, by which these revolutionaries are obsessed; but this is not a motive which they can afford to proclaim, and so they prefer to charge their victims with anti-social offences. Still, in that case, there should surely be some judicial investigation conducted on equitable principles, including the hearing of the accused and the substantiation of all that is urged against them. Yet it is very noticeable from the reports received that not only is there no trace of an intention to take this obviously just course, but the charges themselves are expressed in such vague terms, that it would be difficult to investigate them. For instance, Senhor Affonso Costa tells the Special Correspondent of *Le Temps* (October 10th), that "these congregations made a pretence of teaching so as to justify their existence, and really devoted their activities to politics, especially since the death of Dom Carlos. They had founded violent organs and a so-called National Party, composed of men devoted to them." Suppose

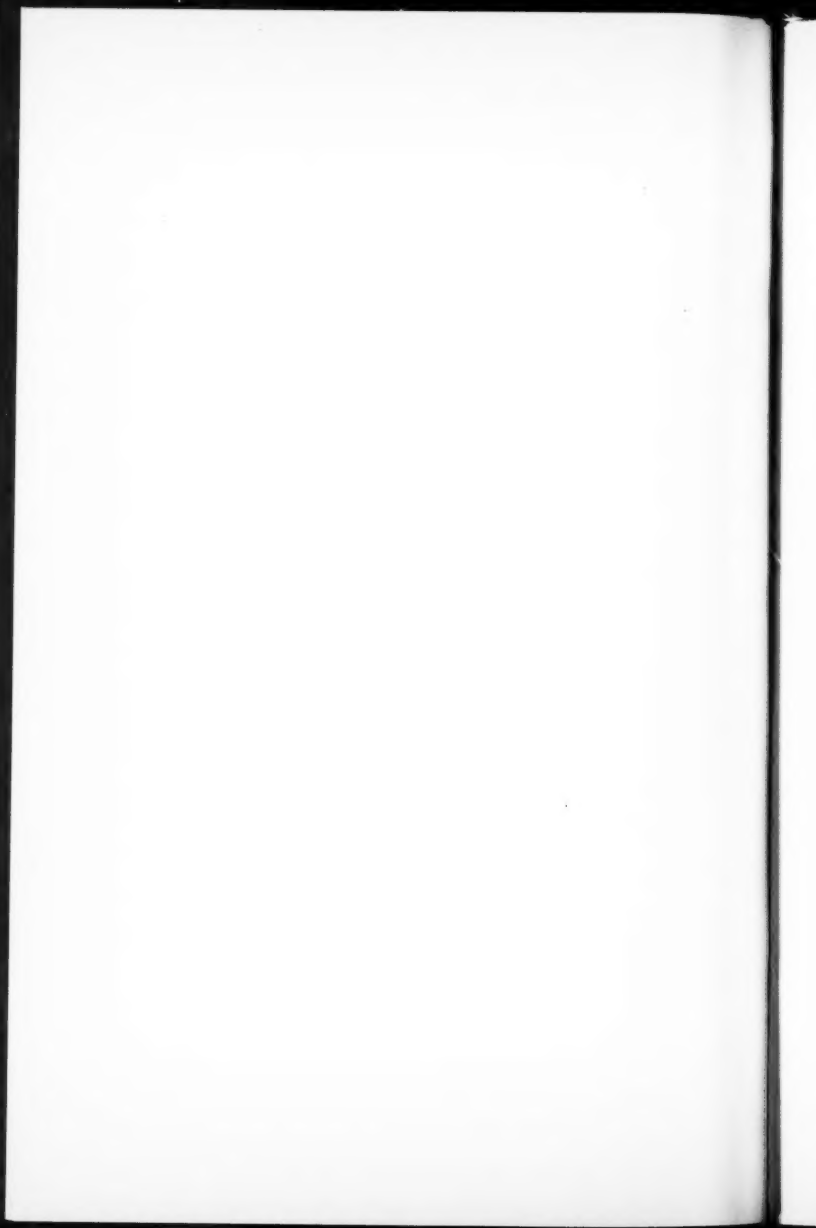
they had done all these things, what is there in them that should be deemed culpable by the civil power? In fact, however, they are not proved to have done, and have not done, any of these. They have abstained altogether from politics, and as for founding violent organs, let Senhor Costa show in any Jesuit organ, or Catholic organ, language one-twentieth part as violent as the articles that appear daily in the foul republican papers we have named. It does not indeed surprise us that these people should act towards the Religious in this manner, but we have surely the right to ask our fellow-countrymen who, though prejudiced against Catholics, are by no means dead to the most elementary considerations of justice—we have the right to ask them to withhold their adverse judgment till something that can really be called evidence for the allegations has been produced. And may we not also remind them that in any other case they would demand that even suspected criminals should be treated with a certain degree of humanity, whereas in the present instance more sympathy has been shown for the marooned dogs of Constantinople than for the hundred and forty Jesuits and three hundred or more nuns, who were suddenly deprived of all they had at the beginning of this Revolution, taken from their homes without regard for age or health, to places of confinement where they lie huddled close together by the hundred in large halls, without privacy of any kind, with nothing but a few large and filthy tubs set in their midst to meet the necessities of nature, with nothing but a mattress and a blanket a piece on which to sleep in a bitterly cold and damp atmosphere, with only repulsive food to eat—and told that they must remain thus till they find the means to pay for their journey into exile.

There is much else which suggests itself in the way of

reflection on the attitude towards this persecution taken by the English papers. But there is one thing which needs to be brought forward at once. These papers are smiling in the most surprising way on the new Republic, and are recommending it should be promptly recognized by the Powers. Incredible as it may appear, they have actually been captured by the inflated language, the *ampullas et sesquipedalia verba* which those windbags have put into their proclamations; they have actually mistaken words for deeds, for what guarantee have they that the present state of things will endure? Certainly the character of the triumvirs, if we may so call them, affords no guarantee. Senhor Braga may be a "philosopher, poet, romancer, historian, statistician," and what not besides; he may live in a small flat, have unassuming manners and the glory of grey hairs; he may be a sentimentalist with a touching propensity to shed tears, as one Correspondent tells us he did in speaking of the condition of the poor, and as one who talked with him the other day tells us he did in announcing his intention to abolish in Portugal the ceremony of Baptism, or, as possibly he does, like the walrus with streaming eyes, when he reflects on the cruelties he is inflicting on the nuns. But the impression prevailing in Lisbon is that he is a mere dreamer set up by stronger people to act as a figure-head till it suits them to displace him. Nor is Senhor Machado, another old man, thought by the Lisbon people to be a sufficiently forceful character to keep his place long. Senhor Costa is undoubtedly the strongest man of the three, as he is also the most violent; still it is, we are credibly informed, understood by those who are on the spot that the real arbiters of the present situation are a Secret Club, probably consisting of some newspaper proprietors and edi-

tors, and that it is from these that the triumvirs take their orders. Moreover these secret leaders, whoever they be, have had for the accomplishment of their revolution to conjure up the demon of anarchy—for it is thus we must conceive of the *canaille* some of whose hooligan achievements in sacking the convents we have described. The passions which agitate a *canaille* of this sort are essentially internecine, and already there are ominous signs of the development of this tendency. In the *Times* for October 21st a mysterious telegram "from our Special Correspondent" announced that "the Provisional Government to-day attempts to mollify the military heroes of the revolution by rewarding their 'patriotic services' with furloughs, offers of service in the National Guard, extra promotions, retirements, increased pensions and distinctions." The true inwardness of this episode is, we are informed, that only two of the revolting regiments are cordially republican, and that these two have had to be practically disbanded, by the methods indicated in this telegram, because they provokingly claimed to have their patriotic services rewarded by a rise of their day's pay from something like a penny to half a crown. In short, the *Westminster Gazette* Correspondent is perhaps not far wrong when he writes that "a Central American Republic of the worst type has been established here in Europe." (*Westminster Gazette*, October 19th.)

Rev. Sydney F. Smith, S.J., in *The Month* for November, 1910.



Mayor Nathan and the Pope

GENERAL PELLOUX'S OPEN LETTER TO THE ITALIAN PRIME MINISTER.

"The open letter of General Pelloux," says *Rome* of Dec. 3, 1910, "to Prime Minister Luzzatti, is one of the most remarkable politico-religious documents of the last forty years in Italy. The Law of Guarantees is by no means what it is described by the gallant General. It was he who fired the first shot which made the famous Breach at Porta Pia, but in doing it he was the unconscious instrument of Freemasonry, which organized the overthrow of the temporal power of the Popes as a means to overthrow their spiritual power also; the Law of Guarantees was passed to throw dust in the eyes of the Catholic world and of the foreign powers; the Italian government has not guaranteed the respect due to the Head of the Catholic Church—on the contrary it has time and again permitted flagrant insult to the Pope and to the Catholic religion. The General, therefore, is entirely mistaken when he says that Nathan's notorious speech constitutes the first violation permitted by the Italian government of this 'fundamental law of the realm.' But this strange misconception serves only to give additional weight to the utterances of the General. He has been identified all his life with the new régime, he helped to make it, he has taken a leading part in the politics of Italy during the last forty years, he is a Senator of the Kingdom, he was at the head of an

Italian Ministry during a very critical period, nobody is so foolish as to insinuate that he has any sympathy with 'clericalism'—and yet General Pelloux is filled with indignation at the gross outrage inflicted by Mayor Nathan on the Holy Father and on the Italian Law of Guarantees, and at the culpable inaction, which really amounts to complicity, of the present Government. But he is doomed to have his labor for his pains, for the bitter truth is that the time has now come in Italy when no ministry can hope to live long without the support of the enemies, not only of the Church, but of the civil authority, and that support is only to be obtained at the price of complicity with the Nathans and the *Asinos* of the hour."

The following summary of the Law of Guarantees is taken from "The Catholic Encyclopedia":—

"The Law of Guarantees, (*La Legge Delle Guarentigie*), is a name given to the law passed by the senate and chamber of the Italian parliament, 13 May, 1871, concerning the prerogatives of the Holy See and the relations between State and Church in the Kingdom of Italy. The principal stipulations of the law may be summed up as follows: (1) The Pope's person to be sacred and inviolable; (2) insult or injury to the Pope to be treated on a par with insult or injury to the king's person; discussion of religious matters to be absolutely free; (3) royal honors to be paid to the Pope; that he have the right to the customary guards; (4) the Pope to be given an annual endowment of 3,225,000 *lire* (\$622,425, or £127,933) to cover all the needs of the Holy See (College of Cardinals, Roman Congregations, embassies, etc.), and the maintenance of church buildings; (5) the Vatican and Lateran palaces, as well as

the Villa of Castel Gandolfo, to remain the property of the Pope; these articles assure the Pope and all engaged in the spiritual government of the Church, as well as the College of Cardinals assembled in conclave, complete liberty of communication with the Catholic world, exempt them from all interference with their letters, papers, etc.; (14) the clergy to have freedom of assembly; (15) the government to renounce the 'Apostolic Legation' in Sicily, and the right of nomination to major benefices, with reservation, however, of the royal patronage; the bishops are not obliged to take the oath (of allegiance) on appointment; (16) the Exequatur to be maintained only for the major benefices (except in Rome, and in the suburbicarian sees) and for acts affecting the disposition of ecclesiastical property; (17) in spiritual matters no appeal to be allowed against ecclesiastical authority; the civil courts, however, to be competent to pass judgment on the juridical effects of ecclesiastical sentences. Provision to be made, by a future law, for the reorganization, conservation, and administration of all the church property in the kingdom."

The following is the open letter from Senator Pelloux to the Italian Prime Minister:—

Your Excellency is perhaps aware that as long ago as the 25th of September I gave notice that I would ask a question of the Government in the Senate with regard to the interpretation of the Law of Guarantees: I took this course on account of the serious incidents that the recurrence of the date of the 20th of September had given rise to shortly before in Rome.

The first meeting of the Senate has been called for the 5th of December, a week later than the opening of the Chamber of Deputies. The inevitable result of this

delay in the assembling of the higher Chamber will be that the question which forms the object of my interpellation will be raised in the Elective Chamber before it can be discussed in the Senate.

And this must necessarily occur, as it is most desirable that the question shall be discussed on the earliest possible occasion, as soon, that is, as either one or the other branch of Parliament is opened; for it is obvious that after the disturbance and agitation that have been caused in Italy and abroad by the deplorable manifestation of the 20th of September, and after the obstinate silence on the part of the Government, everyone is waiting with legitimate impatience to know definitely its views on the matter.

Such being the situation, I see, indeed I cannot help seeing, that my interpellation is valueless, if, as will undoubtedly occur, the question is discussed in the other branch of Parliament. It has occurred to me, therefore, that you might not be displeased to know exactly what I should have said in my interpellation, if the presentation of it had not been rendered useless; and I take this opportunity of making known to your Excellency in this open letter the words which I should have spoken in the Senate.

FOREWORD.

I regret that my interpellation can only be put before the Senate two months after it was presented, two months, that is, after the events which gave rise to it.

It is for that reason that what I say to-day will seem to many to be a repetition of arguments that are already worn threadbare, so often have they been repeated; the more so as they contain nothing but the expression of the plainest common sense.

To tell the truth, I am unable to understand how it is that the Government, during these two months past, has either not known how, or has not been willing, or has not been able to say one word to reassure those—and they are the great majority—who are justly alarmed at the . . . new departure this year on the occasion of the recurrence of the date, September 20th.

I am bound, however, to conclude that the Government did not see the gravity of the occurrence; while on the other hand they did not fail to see the arguments of those who expressed their indignation as soon as my interpellation was announced, and levelled calumnies and insults at me. Yet no situation was ever outlined more clearly; no interpellation more fully justified.

RETROSPECT.

It is desirable first of all to put on record the facts which have led up to this occurrence, facts which should never be lost sight of by Italy, much less by its Government.

In October, 1870, immediately after the plebiscite of Rome, the Italian Government, with the desire of reassuring the Catholic world with regard to the memorable event which had just occurred, the fall of the temporal power of the Pope, hastened to make known to foreign powers the fundamental canons by which the *Prerogatives of the Supreme Pontiff and the Holy See* were to be defined. In the following May on the basis of those canons was passed the law which is commonly known as the Law of Guarantees.

Both the scope and the spirit of the law are evident: to assure the greatest reverence and the greatest respect to the Supreme Pontiff, leaving him all the authority, all

the independence and all the liberty necessary for the exercise of his high spiritual mission; a mission which could be carried on far more efficaciously once the Papacy was relieved of the preoccupation of temporal power. With this foreword I come to my interpellation, which was not suggested to me by any preconceived hostility to the Government or to the Syndic of Rome.

My object was, as it has been in every act of my public life, the good, or at any rate that which I deem to be the good of my country; to which I am bound by so many dear records that I can never forget; among them—I say this in order that there may be no misunderstanding of my attitude—the record of the 20th of September 1870, when the duty fell to me of breaking down the walls of the Porta Pia. For that reason I put all other considerations aside and presented my interpellation. And very much mistaken were those who thought that I was actuated by motives of hostility to anyone: still more mistaken those who thought to silence me by threats or calumnies.

THE DUTY OF THE GOVERNMENT.

I fully appreciate how useless were repressive measures, once the unhappy speech of the Syndic of Rome at the breach of the Porta Pia had been pronounced, to destroy the disastrous impression it created; and it is therefore fair to argue, as some do, that there were valid deterrent reasons against such a course.

But . . . between *repressive measures which were not taken* and *completely washing its hands of the affair*, which is the course the Government adopted, there is an abyss.

I do not propose to pronounce any judgment on the

speech of the Syndic of Rome, on the protest of the Supreme Pontiff, or on the reply of the Syndic to that protest, but I do not hesitate to say that these three documents together have had the deplorable effect of profoundly disturbing and injuring the consciences of millions of Catholics!

Unfortunately this effect was not foreseen or fully estimated either by the Syndic of Rome, in speaking and writing as he did, or by the Government in keeping silence and pretending to see nothing. We are on the eve of great national celebrations undertaken to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the proclamation of Rome as the Capital. It was therefore in every way desirable, in the interests of all Italians, that those patriotic celebrations should take place in the greatest order and tranquillity.

Now I ask:—are we justified in such a hope, when we see that not a word of blame has been spoken by those whose duty it was to speak for the untimely outburst which has caused such alarm, not only to Catholics, but to all men of order, and to all those who do not desire and will not tolerate that a faction shall supersede the Government of the country?

A pronouncement should have been made at once, dignified, authoritative and firm, to reassure men's minds. This deliberate, frightened silence can only be regarded as real weakness, complete lack of energy and civil courage on the part of the Government, whose first duty it is to maintain high its prestige and dignity. But can we call the Government powerful and vigorous whose authority and dignity were extolled, and so cheaply, in the discourse of Alba?

THE RESPONSIBILITY.

For it is out of the question to suppose that the Government would endeavor to decline all responsibility for the unfortunate results of the occurrence of the 20th of September. The wretched and unworthy subterfuge that the Syndic is not a functionary of the State will not meet with any approval or be of any use here.

Whether the Syndic of Rome be a functionary of the State or no, neither he nor any other Syndic is allowed to abuse his position, even if elective, by manifestations which are calculated to do grave damage to the country and are, moreover, in direct opposition to one of the principal laws of the State. It was the plain duty of the Government, if they did not dare to take any stronger action, at least to at once disown him by censuring him and calling him to order.

Having taken no measures at all the Government must be said to have connived with him, to be his accomplices I might say in what has occurred, and their direct responsibility remains fully established.

Since the fall of the temporal power Italy has done everything possible to soothe the consciences of Catholics, taking special care that the Law of Guarantees shall be observed, and Europe, looking on in admiration, has had to admit that order and tranquillity have reigned in Rome, the Capital of Italy, even on memorable occasions and in times of difficulty, for instance the Holy Year and two Conclaves.

And it is precisely at this moment, when more than at any other time it is necessary that things should remain thus, that the Government, supine, without a sign of reproof or blame, allows this deliberate infraction of a fundamental law of the State, an infraction which may

justly be described as a provocation. That the Law of Guarantees has in these days come to receive an interpretation contrary to all common sense, or, to put it better, that the actual Government has come to care nothing for that law, is so evident that there is no need of proof. But the present case goes beyond all bounds.

THE CONDUCT OF THE SYNDIC.

How could the Government ever allow the first magistrate of the Capital to abuse his official position by taking advantage of it with impunity to preach from that place, to those under him, the great majority of whom are Catholics, contempt for the religion of the State, derision of the temporal power of the Supreme Pontiff, and disrespect of his person? It is outrageous.

But I am told that the anti-clericals and their friends are furious with me for my interpellation. I am not a bit surprised. They are striving to make the festivities of 1911 a great sectarian manifestation which shall put an end to the existing state of things; they know that my object is the direct opposite, to put the country on its guard against such an event, and ask the government to prevent any such possibility.

It is for this very reason that I did not form my interpellation to the Government with regard to the *application* but to the *interpretation* of the Law of Guarantees; a very different thing. If the Syndic of Rome, in his famous speech or in his still more famous letter, had offended the Supreme Pontiff in the sense indicated by that law, it was not for us to deliberate; it was for the judicial authority to act.

WHERE THE GOVERNMENT HAS FAILED.

I have another and a very different intention. I intend to affirm and to prove that the Syndic of Rome, by his deplorable manifestations, and the Government, which by its tacit consent has made itself his accomplice, have failed to recognize the Law of Guarantees; have given the lie to the solemn promises made by Italy when it entered Rome; have forgotten the noble words which the great king directed to the Supreme Pontiff in 1870, just as they have forgotten the memorable and solemn debates in the Italian Parliament in December, 1870, and in the first months of 1871. By that they have not only offended the consciences of Catholics, but they have inflicted great moral damage on our country.

Some, who attempt in vain to defend the Government and the Syndic of Rome, have said, *But the Law of Guarantees declares discussion in religious matters to be entirely free.* Who denies it? Who has ever denied it? But in what way does the *liberty of discussion* enter into the subject?

They would perhaps apply the term *discussion* to the fact that the first magistrate of the Capital made use of a solemn occasion, a *mémoire* dear to Rome and to all Italians, to make a proclamation in front of the Breach of Porta Pia of his own dogmas and his own anti-Catholic theories; and that in a form so absolute and authoritative that it is hard to say to whom it would be most appropriate, perhaps to an anti-Pope or to the President of a new Roman Republic!

VIOLENCE AND REVENGE.

Among other things it has been said:

Take notice that in his protest the Pope has dared to

speak of *violence suffered*: he has dared to record that the temporal power was *overthrown by force*, and he has even dared to *claim it again, setting himself up as a Pretender!* Certainly it is a grievous thing for Italy that such should be the case and I also am sincerely sorry. But, in fairness—who is to blame for the situation, and for this protest from the Supreme Pontiff?

No such word has been uttered for 40 years: this is the first occasion that the Vatican has given out in *official form* utterances such as that which we have lately heard: the whole blame clearly lies at the door of those who provoked this protest, and of none else. And they too are directly responsible for all the exaggerations and extravagances that have been uttered in foreign countries against Italy.

While they work themselves to fever heat in amazement that the breach of the Porta Pia should be described as *violence*, it seems really hardly possible that they can lack the civil courage to acknowledge the fact. We are bound to admit that it was *violence*; caused by the supreme need of the country, but *violence* all the same, which we had to get the civilized world to agree to. How true that is, and how readily it was recognized, is shown by the fact that the Italian Government set itself without delay to allay the fears of Catholics and foreign Powers. And they went to work so well that it may be safely said now that their object was attained.

THE LAW OF GUARANTEES.

The anti-clericals say that the Law of Guarantees does not exist because *The Holy See has never accepted it*. It may be said at once that even if no Law of Guarantees did exist, the occurrences of the 20th of September, 1910,

would be none the less deplorable and deserving of the severest condemnation, both from the point of view of the phenomenal tactlessness of the Syndic of Rome and of the complete neglect of its duty on the part of the Government; but even putting that consideration aside, the truth is that those who deny the existence of the Law of Guarantees prove nothing but their ignorance and bad faith.

Not only does that Law exist, but it is one of the fundamental laws of the State, and constitutes a sacred pledge of the honor of the Italian Government which it has taken before the civilized world.

It is true that intransigent clericals call it a *Law of hypocrisy*, but that does not impair its value and the supreme importance it has for Italy. Again, if the clericals do call it a *Law of hypocrisy*, it signifies that that party recognizes, to its great regret, that it has been of great value, that it has had enormous influence to reassure the Catholic world and the Powers with regard to the quite harmless results of the fall of the temporal power of the Pope.

This consideration by itself would be enough to prove that, quite apart from the question of duty, it is in every way to the interest of Italy to maintain the law. As to the importance which the Law of Guarantees holds for us, a short record will be enough to convince even the most obstinate. In February, 1878, when the Left had been in power for two years, a few days after the death of Pius IX, the Government thought the occasion opportune to interrogate the Council of State, regarding the value and bearing of the law concerning the *Prerogatives of the Supreme Pontiff and the Holy See*.

The Council of State in a General Meeting of the 2d of March following pronounced as follows:

"The Law is one of the most important laws of public jurisprudence of the State: it is an organic and political law which can be qualified as one of the fundamental laws of the State: a law which safeguards great national interests: a law which is also intended to produce effects which pass beyond the confines of the State."

But there is more than that. In 1881, on the occasion of the agitation carried on by means of public meetings against the Law of Guarantees, the Ministry gave out an official pronouncement in the *Gazzetta Ufficiale* of the kingdom, of the 20th of August. In this, while they repeated the declaration already put forward when the Left, having been called to the Government of public affairs, wished to assure the Catholic world as to their intentions, they formally declared:

"That the Law of Guarantees, although a law of domestic order, not imposed or bound by international agreements, but the spontaneous emanation of the will of the country, has taken its position among the *organic laws* in the public jurisprudence of Italy, and its political efficacy depends on the public belief in the stability of these laws, not on the acceptance or consent of *others*." That seems to me to be conclusive.

AN INOPPORTUNE INTERPELLATION.

Others have said that my interpellation is *inopportune*, and that it should not have come from the man who *made the breach in the walls at the Porta Pia*.

It is certainly ingenuous and rather absurd to refer thus to the subject of the breach; but I pass that by and admit at once that my interpellation is inopportune, very much so—for anti-clericals and their allies, for all those who were delighted, who jumped for joy at the

appearance of this miserable scandal. On the other hand it is most opportune for everyone else, for the enormous majority of the country.

And naturally these people at once insinuate that I am a *clerical*. Of course everyone who does not see eye to eye with them must be a *clerical*. Well there is a goodly company of us! But, frankly, I am not a clerical. I will say what I am; I claim a place, simply, in the ranks of honorable men who think it is their duty to keep the pledges that they have given voluntarily and solemnly, and who maintain that the word of a nation, no less than that of an individual, should be sacred.

But, that I may not abuse the patience of my colleagues, I must conclude. Let us put aside the hypocritical reasoning of conflicting interests and speak clearly. It is inconceivable that the Government does not see the manifest inconsistency of its conduct with regard to this unfortunate occurrence. Is it possible that it can continue in this passive attitude in face of so much outraged feeling?

I sincerely hope that it will not think it has done its duty, that it has reassured men's minds by the few *timid and almost clandestine* words that were spoken at the Alba discourse. I say deliberately, *almost clandestine*, for those words were not as a matter of fact spoken to the public, inasmuch as they were not included in the published reports of the speech. Surely, at such a time, it would have been opportune to publish them, trifling as they were in comparison with the breach made in the Law of Guarantees, the reparation of which required something much more definite.

MAYOR NATHAN AND THE POPE

DAINGEROUS FRIENDS.

Anyone who is held in such universal affection as the President of the Council will easily meet, *as he has indeed met*, dangerous friends, who by pressure, interference and imposition compromise the Government at home, as by their imprudence they compromise the country abroad.

They compromise the Government by rendering it powerless, and making it impossible for it to do its duty. They compromise the country by producing the impression abroad that Italy is incapable of keeping the sacrosanct pledges into which it entered voluntarily, in order to reassure the Powers when it took Rome as its capital; while even the most extreme ministry of the Left that Italy has had since 1870 were able to rise to the occasion and vigorously uphold them against popular agitation, as occurred, for instance, in 1881.

To emerge from this serious state of affairs, to which those dangerous friends have in so short a time reduced the Government, there is only one course open; that is to have the courage to *emancipate itself*. If it has not this courage, the country must expect very shortly the unhappy but inevitable consequence, for a Government can do no good, which, for fear of its own friends has to be on good terms with, and submit to the dominion of its enemies.

Therefore I ask the President of the Council to reassure, definitely and without reserve, by word and deed, those who desire to see the Government really strong and vigorous, ruling the country with true dignity and authority.

I ask him in fact for a formal pledge, to give confidence to all those who wish it that the happy ex-

perience of forty years shall not be lost; an experience which has shown, to the lasting benefit of Italy, that in Rome the Supreme Pontiff and King can live side by side, spiritual power and temporal, consecrating thus the great principle, *A Free Church in Free State*.

LUIGI PELLOUX.

Translation from *Rome*, December 3, 1910.

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